National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

National Capital Region
Washington, DC

Historic Resource Study: Reconstruction And The Early Civil Rights Movement In The National Capital Area

July 2021

Resource Stewardship and Science
Division of Cultural Resources, National Capital Region

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

RECONSTRUCTION AND THE EARLY CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA

Prepared by:

Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, Ph. D., Principal Investigator
Patsy M. Fletcher

(with contributions from Caroline Spencer and Lauren Hughes)
In Partnership with the Organization of American Historians

National Park Service • National Capital Area • Resource Stewardship and Science • Division of Cultural Resources • Washington, DC

2021

As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under US administration.

US Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Resource Stewardship and Science
Washington, DC

Publication Credits: Graphics from sources other than federal repositories may not be reproduced without the permission of the owners noted in the captions. Other 9nformation in this publication may be copied and used with the condition that full credit be given to the authors and publisher. Appropriate citations and bibliographic credits should be made for each use.

Cover image: "Civil Rights Bill Passes—1866"
Mural at the U. S. Capitol celebrates passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866. Painting by Allyn Cox (Image courtesy of the Architect of the Capitol)

In Memory of

Patsy M. Fletcher

(1946-2019)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES **XII**

LIST OF TABLES **XIV**

MAP OF NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE **XV**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY **XVI**

Reconstruction Timeline **xx**

INTRODUCTION **1**

Reconstruction Era Defined And Redefined **3**

The National Capital Area **4**

Types of Reconstruction **8**

The End Dates of Reconstruction Reconsidered **14**

Dawning of a New Hope **16**

PART I: NATIONAL POLITCAL INFLUENCE ON THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA **20**

CHAPTER ONE: THE DAWN OF RECONSTRUCTION **21**

Washington, D.C. as Mecca **21**

United States Colored Troops (USCT) **26**

A New Life in a New Place **28**

United States Bureau Of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands (The Freedmen's Bureau) **29**

The Virginia Counties in the National Capital Area: A Thriving Freedom in the Shadow of the Confederacy **31**

Freedman's Village 32

Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery, Alexandria 37

Arlington National Cemetery 38

West Virginia, The Newest Union State 38

Maryland Counties in the National Capital Area: Resistance to the Spirit of Reconstruction **39**

CHAPTER TWO: RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATION **46**

Introduction **46**

Civil War Era Legislation **46**

First Confiscation Act of August 6, 1861 46

The Act Prohibiting the Return of Slaves, March 13, 1862 46
Second Confiscation Act of July 17, 1862 47
Provisional Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862 47
Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863 48
Reconstruction Era Legislation 48
Freedmen's Bureau Acts of 1865–66 48
Thirteenth Amendment 48
Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Start of Radical Reconstruction 49
The Reconstruction Act of 1867, March 2 50
Fourteenth Amendment 54
The First Reconstruction Act (March 1867) 56
Fifteenth Amendment 57
Civil Rights Acts/The Enforcement Acts 59
First Ku Klux Klan Acts (1870–71) 59
Civil Rights Act of 1871/The Second Force Act/ Second Ku Klux Klan Act (February 1871) 60
Civil Rights Act/Third Force/Enforcement Act/Third Ku Klux Klan Act (April 1871) 60
Civil Rights Act of 1875 60
Compromise of 1877 61
Civil Rights Cases of 1883 62
Civil Rights Act of 1875 Declared Unconstitutional 62
***Plessy v. Ferguson* 64**

CHAPTER THREE: NATIONAL POLITICIANS: LOCAL LEADERS 66
Blacks and the Politics of Reconstruction 67
Elected Black Officials Come to Washington, D.C. 69
Blacks in Congress 69
Local Politics in the National Capital Area 74
Passage of the District Civil Rights Laws 75
African American Suffrage and New State Constitutions 80
Virginia 80
Elected and Appointed Officials in the NCA 86
Virginia 86

PART II: INSTITUTION BUILDING 98

CHAPTER FOUR: BLACK ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES 99
Introduction 99
The Convention Movement 100

Women's Organizing in the Late Nineteenth Century **109**
National Association of Colored Women **114**
Benevolent Associations **116**
Virginia 117
Maryland 118
West Virginia 121
Conclusion **121**

CHAPTER FIVE: COMMUNITY ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN WASHINGTON, D. C. AND VIRGINIA **122**
Introduction **122**
Housing Discrimination **123**
Washington, D.C. 123
Virginia 136

CHAPTER SIX: COMMUNITY ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN WEST VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND **154**
Introduction **154**
Jefferson County, West Virginia **154**
Black Communities in Jefferson County 155
Black Communities in Charles Town 158
Black Communities in Harpers Ferry 158
Maryland **162**
Montgomery County 163
Westbard 168
Prince George's County 168
Rossville/Muirkirk 172
Chapel Hill 173
Frederick County 176
Washington County 178
Hagerstown 179
Loss of Ownership **182**

CHAPTER SEVEN: EDUCATION **187**
Historical Overview **187**
Washington, D.C. **189**
Quest for Education 189
Neighborhood Schools 194
Congress Heights 195
Barry Farms 195
Virginia Schools **196**

Anti-literacy Laws 196
Earliest Schools in Virginia 197
Alexandria 198
Fairfax County 201
Loudoun County 204
Prince William County 205
West Virginia Schools 205
Shepherdstown 209
Charles Town 209
Harpers Ferry 211
Maryland Schools 213
Montgomery County 214
Prince George's County 216
Frederick County 221
Washington County 224
Colleges and Universities 227
Washington, D.C. Colleges and Universities 228
Virginia 231
West Virginia Colleges 232
Maryland 234

CHAPTER EIGHT: AFRICAN AMERICAN CHURCHES 236
Overview 236
Washington, D.C. Churches 238
Virginia Churches 246
Alexandria, Virginia 248
Fairfax, Virginia 252
Loudoun County, Virginia 253
Prince William County, Virginia 256
West Virginia Churches 256
Maryland Churches 260
Prince George's County 261
Montgomery County 267
Four Churches of St. Mark's Charge or the Boyd's Charge 272
Rockville Circuit of Negro Churches 274
Frederick County 278
Washington County 280
Conclusion 283

PART III: RECONSTRUCTION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES 285

CHAPTER NINE: VIOLENCE IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA—FOCUS ON LYNCHING **286**

Overview **286**
Focus on Lynching **290**
Washington, D.C. **293**
Virginia **296**
Alexandria, Arlington County 296
Alexandria, Arlington County 296
Leesburg, Loudoun County 298
Leesburg, Loudoun County 299
Leesburg, Loudoun County 301
West Virginia **302**
Maryland **303**
Prince George's County, Near Piscataway 304
Oxon Hill, Prince George's County 305
Upper Marlboro, Prince George's County 306
Upper Marlboro, Prince George's County 307
Upper Marlboro, Prince George's County 309
Montgomery County 310
Poolesville, Montgomery County 311
Darnestown, Montgomery County 313
Rockville, Montgomery County 316
Point of Rocks, Frederick County 317
Frederick, Frederick County 320
Frederick, Frederick County 322
Conclusion **323**

CHAPTER TEN: RECONSTRUCTION AND ITS AFTERMATH **325**
Introduction **325**
1877 and the End of Military Reconstruction **327**
Forecasting Jim Crow **330**
The Continued Struggle for Civil Rights and the Reconstruction of America **333**
Conclusion **337**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **339**

APPENDIX A: African American Population Statistics in the NPS National Capital Area, 1860-1900 **389**
Catalog of Counties **389**
NPS National Capital Area **390**

Maryland **390**
Prince George's County (Cities and Towns included) 390
Montgomery County (Cities and Towns included) 391
Frederick County (Cities and Towns included) 392
Washington County (Cities and Towns included) 394
District of Columbia **396**
Virginia **398**
Prince William County (Cities and Towns included) 398
Loudoun County (Cities and Towns included) 399
Fairfax County (Cities and Towns included) 400
Alexandria County (Cities and Towns included) 401
City of Alexandria 402
West Virginia **403**
Jefferson County (Cities and Towns included) 403

APPENDIX B: Freedpeoples' Schools in the National Capital Area, 1865-1871 **406**

Virginia **407**
Alexandria County 407
Fairfax County 408
Loudoun County 409
Prince William County 409
District of Columbia **410**
Washington County 410
Maryland **410**
Prince George's County 410
Montgomery County 411
Frederick County 412
Washington County 413
West Virginia **413**
Jefferson County 413

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1. Campbell General Hospital, the forerunner to Freedman's Hospital. 24

Figure 2. A soldier representing the Freedmen's Bureau fending off racial strife in Virginia. ***Harpers Weekly***, 1868 July 25, 473, Library of Congress. 30

Figure 3. Freedman's Village, Arlington, Virginia, ***Harpers Weekly***, May 1864. Courtesy of Library of Congress 32

Figure 4. Freedman's Village near Arlington Heights, Virginia, July 10th, 1865. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration. 34

Figure 5. From Plantation to Senate (LOC). Image shows from left to right: Benjamin S. Turner, Hiram Revels, Bishop Richard Allen, Frederick Douglass (center), Josiah T. Walls, Joseph H. Rainey, and William Wells Brown 66

Figure 6. John R. Lynch. U.S. House of Representatives from Mississippi 6th District (1873-1877 and 1882-1883). Courtesy of United States Congress. 71

Figure 7. Significant Election Scene at Washington, June 3, 1867. ***Harpers Weekly***, June 22, 1867 76

Figure 8. Washington, D.C., The New Administration—Colored Citizens Paying Their Respects to Marshall Frederick Douglass, in His Office at the City Hall, ***Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper***, April 7, 1877 (LOC). 79

Figure 9. Public Free Schools Poster. Education and politics were closely entwined, and Black women involved themselves in the schools and education for their children and families. Source: https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/media_player?mets_filename=evr9713mets.xml 85

Figure 10. 1887 Map featuring Barry Farm, Anacostia, the Navy Yard and the Eastern Branch of the Anacostia River. "A complete set of surveys and plats of properties in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, 1887 - Plate 44." Image courtesy of DC Public Library, Special Collections, Washingtonian Map Collection 125

Figure 11. An example of white women acting as teachers at schools established during Reconstruction. Frances Eliza Hall became one of the first teachers at Mt. Zion Hill School in the Barry Farm community. "The Misses Cooke's school room, Freedman's Bureau, Richmond, VA." ***Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper***, v. .23, 1866 Nov. 17, 132. LOC 128

Figure 12. Hillside Cottage, the Washington, D. C. Home of John Mercer Langston. From: John Mercer Langston, From the Virginia Plantation to The National Capitol 134

Figure 13. Map of Alexandria African American Communities and Institutions. (Courtesy of Howard-Revis Design Services) 140

Figure 14. Jennie Dean, Founder of Manassas Industrial School. Source: ***The Crisis***, Vol 6, No 3, July 1913, 126, https://books.google.com/books?id=aFoEAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false 232

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1. Historic African American Settlements in Loudoun County, Virginia. Compiled from Loudoun County African American Historic Architectural Resources Survey, 72, https://www.loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/6978/Loudoun-County-African American-Architectural-Res?bidId=; Willisville Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wpcontent/uploads/2019/09/0535116_Willisville_Historic_District_2019_NRHP_FINAL.pdf 148

Table 2. African American enclaves or communities located in Jefferson County, West Virginia. Source: Black History Preservation Society, Inc., ***African Americans of Jefferson County*** ***156***

Table 3. Carpenters and builders identified in some Montgomery County Black communities. 166

Table 4. Other African American residents identified in Montgomery County the United States Census of 1880 168

Table 5. Additional African American Communities in Frederick County 178

Table 6. African American Real Estate Holdings, Washington County, 1870 179

Table 7. Partial Listing of Freedmen's Bureau School in Virginia, 1865-1870. Source: Data adapted from Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Records of the Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia, 1865-1870, RG105, Roll-15, 32. 198

Table 8. Fee-based Schools in Alexandria, 1863. From: U.S. Bureau of Education, Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools in the District of Columbia, 287-88 199

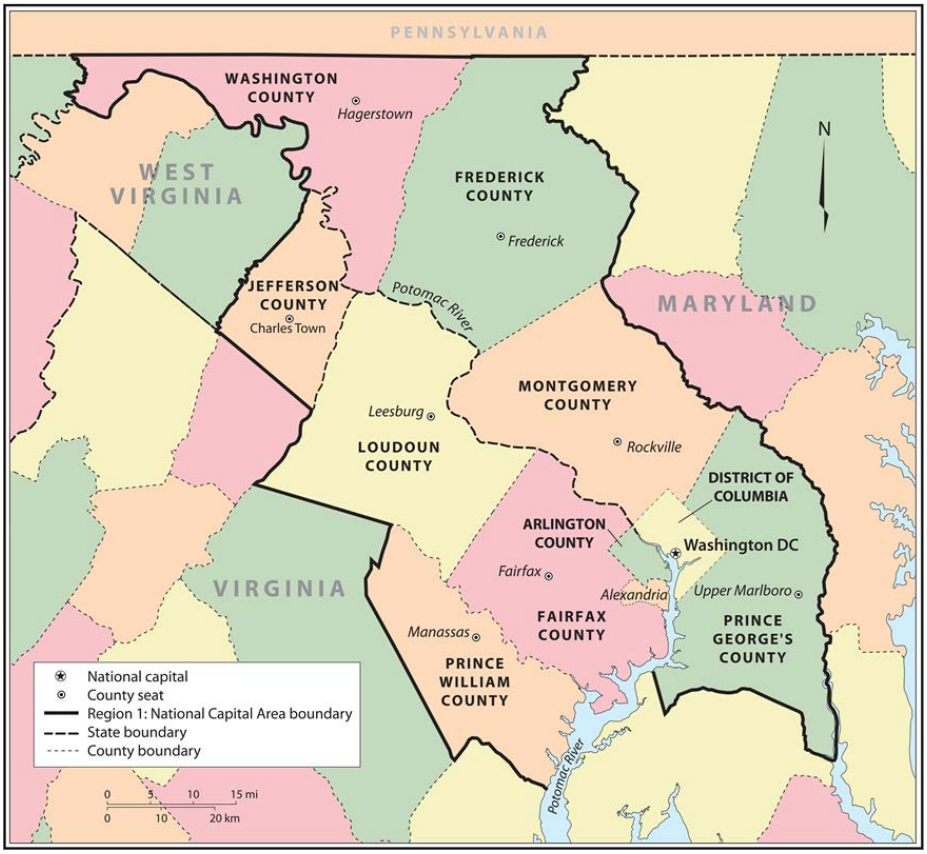
Table 9. Virginia Schools in the NCA opened by or with funds from the Freedmen's Bureau 201

Table 10. Fairfax County Schools Supported by Freedmen's Bureau. Source: Northern Virginia History Notes 203

Table 11. Inspection and Survey Report of Public Schools Frederick County, Maryland 223

Map of National Capital Area, National Park Service

National Park Service Region 1: National Capital Area



This report uses "Area" to refer to the geographical region of the National Capital Area

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Historic Resource Study examines the Reconstruction Era in the National Capital Area (NCA) of the National Park Service (NPS). The NCA is comprised of the District of Columbia; Prince George's, Montgomery, Frederick, and Washington counties in Maryland; Fairfax, Arlington, Loudoun, and Prince William counties, and the City of Alexandria, in Virginia; and Jefferson County in West Virginia (see Map of NCA). During the Civil War, this region was emblematic of the divisions rupturing the country, including Washington, DC, the nation's capital; counties in Maryland, a loyal state; jurisdictions in Virginia, a Confederate state and home of the capital of the confederacy; and one county in the breakaway new state of West Virginia.[1]

For decades, Reconstruction had been largely defined by the federal laws and acts that governed the terms of readmission of the insurrectionary confederate states to the Union after the Civil War. Recent scholarship provides a deeper, more historically nuanced understanding of the Reconstruction era. The complexity of the era was easily one of the most poorly comprehended yet significant periods in American history. Historical eras rarely have a definitive beginning or come to an abrupt ending even when anchored by historical events, and so it was with Reconstruction. This overlooked, misunderstood crucial piece of the nation's rich past, arose out of deeply rooted ties to the Civil War that extend into the Civil Rights era and modern-day policies. By extending the dates of Reconstruction, from Compensated Emancipation in Washington, D.C in 1862 to the revised Virginia constitution of 1902, this report moves beyond the traditional legislative and political view of Reconstruction as ending in 1877, to encompass the civic, social and communal events that were also taking place within the African American experience. The nation and the National Capital Area confronted the effects of Reconstruction laws and policies for almost thirty years beyond that date. Blacks lived with the consequences for another ninety years beyond 1877. The Presidential Proclamation establishing the first Reconstruction-era National Park in South Carolina dated reconstruction as "a period spanning the early Civil War years until the start of Jim Crow racial segregation in the 1890s . . ."[2]

This report contains a brief overview of the laws, policies, and politics that shaped the different phases of Reconstruction and the responses of African Americans

1 The city became an independent city and no longer a part of Alexandria County in 1870.

2 "Presidential Proclamations — Establishment of the Reconstruction Era National Monument," The White House, January 12, 2017, accessed June 26, 2020, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/12/presidential-proclamations-establishment-reconstruction-era-national

to the impact on their lives, communities, families, and institutions. In exercising newfound political power because of Reconstruction amendments, laws, and policies, African American national politicians as well as local leaders living in the District and throughout NCA were able to advocate for the most pressing concerns. Chief among those were education and schools, religious expression free of control by Whites, land acquisition and community building, and the opportunity to solidify family connections. Economic empowerment and fair labor practices were constant concerns.

For this study, expanded analysis of Reconstruction includes the institution building and political actions of African Americans. Moving beyond the states of the confederacy directly affected by the consequences of secession and its aftermath, gives access to broader understanding of the multiple strategies for freedom that African Americans used throughout the Reconstruction Era. In addition to the Black church, Colored conventions were among the early institutions that helped Blacks, primarily men, give voice to their political concerns in addition to their spiritual and religious convictions. Colored women's associations and clubs also formed and reformed during this period. Historian Stephanie Shaw observes, "At least as early as the advent of American slavery, African Americans consistently demonstrated inclinations toward community consciousness and collective activity."[3] Once Black women reoriented themselves and literally re-grouped and re-formed in freedom they continued with renewed strength and unification the work they had begun before the Civil War.

Community and institution building, civil rights, enfranchisement, and African American office holders in addition to forms of repression are elements of the African American experience and proactive responses we investigated across the NCA. Often, individuals or institutions transected themes, locations, and categories in their intersectional leadership, making it difficult to contain topics within narrowly delineated boundaries—a minister may have founded a church, a school and a benevolent society, for example. Educators were affiliated with various schools and institutions. Preachers were politicians; lawyers were teachers. Someone such as Mary Ann Shadd Carey cut across divisions. This report highlights the more strategic and thoughtful approaches Blacks were taking as they expanded their responses to their newly won citizenship. Those responses ranged from well devised escapes from slavery to the quickly established communities that arose immediately after emancipation, to civic gatherings and a quest for education.

[3] Stephanie J. Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women." *Journal of Women's History,* Volume 3, Number 2, Fall 1991, 11-25, 11.

The first freedom seekers escaping slavery during the Civil War pushed the federal government to establish refugee camps to house them, to formulate policies that protected them and ultimately gave rise to the Reconstruction era. With freedom, first in the District of Columbia in 1862, Washington became a mecca. With general emancipation after the war, new churches and schools, many fostered by the Freedmen's Bureau, anchored new communities and stabilized older ones across the NCA. Land ownership and community building inspired the freedmen and women. Washington's Howard University led the way in education and became the nation's foremost Black college, attracting students from across the country. Colored Conventions led the way as outlets for emerging political voices. Colored Women's Conventions and organizing punctuated the end of the Reconstruction era. Hope thrived in the face of daunting challenges.

This report focuses on the attempts to reunite the country during the Reconstruction Era and is divided into two broad entwined themes. One reflects congressional, legislative, and judicial approaches that have almost exclusively defined Reconstruction for over a century. The second and historically least addressed theme exposes African American initiatives and proactive efforts and responses over time. The communities and churches, organizations and schools form the foundations of the all-important "communal infrastructure" that would buoy through the most promising hours and the bleakest days of Reconstruction. The one area not investigated for this report was the establishment, success, and eventual collapse of the Freedman's Bank.[4]

The quest for freedom, citizenship, and equality motivated Blacks across the NCA often in the face of violent opposition. Brutality, discrimination, and an increasingly codified segregation marked the realities of Reconstruction as the era progressed. The racial consequences of the 1896 legal ruling of the Supreme Court in the *Plessey v Ferguson* decision reverberated across the centuries and halted the already diminishing promises and gains of Reconstruction. Within the quest for freedom and autonomy, African Americans had to face the consequences of unjust laws and the unrepentant attitudes and violent responses in the nation and the region around race, equality, and citizenship. These gave rise to the Jim Crow era, rooted in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and defined by the early twentieth century. Responses paralleled the national stance and set the racial tone into the twenty-first century. The far-reaching effects of this complex political and legal, racial and economic, social and cultural battleground remain embedded

[4] Armstead Robinson quoted in Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women." *Journal of Women's History*, Volume 3, Number 2, Fall 1991, 13.

today in our national identity. Reconstruction provides a mirror on the past and a gateway to the promise of America.

RECONSTRUCTION TIMELINE

DATE	EVENT
1861, April 12 1865, May 9	Civil War
1861, May 23	Virginia votes for secession
1862, April 16	DC Compensated Emancipation Act. End of slavery in Washington, D.C.
1863, January 1	Emancipation Proclamation
1863, December 8	Lincoln's 10 % Plan or the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction
1864, June 28	Fugitive Slave Act repealed
1864, November 1	Maryland abolishes slavery
1865, January 31	13th Amendment passed (ratified Dec. 6)
1865, March 3	Freedmen's Bureau created--An Act to establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees
1865, April 15	Lincoln's death by assassination on April 14
1865, May 9	End of Civil War
1865, August 2–5	Alexandria Colored Convention
1866, January 5	Second Freedmen's Bureau Act extends Bureau operations for two more years, enacted July 16
1866, April 9	Civil Rights Act of 1866 guarantees equal rights in the courts, property, and contracts; not the vote
1866, June 8	14th Amendment-- Enshrines civil rights for U.S. citizens, due process and equal protection (ratified July 9, 1868)
1867–1870	Reconstruction Acts impose Military rule on South, including First Military District in Virginia.
1867, March 2	Howard University established
1869, February 26	15th Amendment passed, guarantees African American men the right to vote (ratified February 3, 1870)
1870, January 26	Virginia readmitted to the Union; civilian government restored.
1870–1871	Enforcement Acts (Ku Klux Klan Acts) tries to suppress white violence against Freedmen, protects Black votes
1870	A Virginia law makes it illegal for Black and white children to attend the same schools
1872, June 10	Freedmen's Bureau terminated
1875, March 1	Civil Rights Act of 1875, Second Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination in public places, transport, jury selection, not schools; Supreme Court curtails federal government's ability to stop southern mob violence against Blacks
1877, March 3	Compromise of 1877; Tilden-Hayes election, withdrawal of all remaining federal troops from the South marks the effective end of Military Reconstruction and the rise of Jim Crow and unimaginable violence
1883, March	Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. Supreme Court strikes down main provisions of 1875 Civil Rights Act. Rules that the 14th Amendment prohibits states, but not citizens, from discriminating

DATE	EVENT
1896, May 18	*Plessy v Ferguson* leads to separate but equal segregation and sixty years of Jim Crow laws
1901	Henry White, last African American Reconstruction congressman; serves in 55th Congress
1902	Virginia revised constitution. Restricts voting rights of Blacks and poor whites; requires segregated schools

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on Reconstruction in the National Capital Area (NCA), which is comprised of the District of Columbia, the nation's capital; counties in northern Virginia, the state that was home to the capital of the confederacy, and selected counties in the border states of Maryland and West Virginia. The position of Maryland and Virginia was crucial to the safety and protection of the capital city, the seat of the national government. Virginia, visible from the White House, sat across the Potomac River from the District; Montgomery County shared the District's northern and western borders, and Prince George's County borders to the east. Reconstruction proceeded differently in each of these places in accordance with when and how slavery ended and the differing experiences during the aftershock of the Civil War and the dawning of Reconstruction.

Abolitionist attorney and New York journalist Sidney Howard Gay summarized Reconstruction as "a work badly begun, unwisely carried on, and . . . still unfinished."[5] Contemporary sociologist Ron Eyerman pointed to a "distinctive gap" to be found between the "collective memory of a reconstructed minority group and the equally reconstructed dominant group" who managed to control "the resources and had the power to fashion public memory."[6] Pulitzer Prize winning Reconstruction scholar Eric Foner reiterates the misunderstanding and resentment that surrounds Reconstruction. He observed that "There are still people who don't want that piece of our history uncovered. Civil Rights sites, which are now burgeoning, ought to talk about their origins in that era. These issues are still very much with us today."[7] Henry Louis Gates offered much the same opinion, calling Reconstruction, "one of the most pivotal eras in the history of race relations in American history —and probably the most misunderstood."[8]

Beyond numerous Reconstruction legislation that predominated definition and analysis of the Era, this report is guided by historian Richard Paul Fuke's observation that, "Blacks' response to emancipation was a reaction to *both* freedom and compulsion."[9] The report addresses African American responses to Reconstruc-

5 Eric Foner, *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of the Underground Railroad* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2015), 229.

6 As quoted in Marouf A. Hasian and Nicholas S. Paliewicz. "The Blood of Lynching Victims Is in the Soil": Reconstruction Horrors and Post-Reconstruction Peonage." *In Racial Terrorism: A Rhetorical Investigation of Lynching*, 19-38. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2021). Accessed March 7, 2021. doi:10.2307/j.ctv1fkgc9s.5.

7 Eric Foner, "Civic Reflection: The Underside of History," Common Ground: Preserving Our Nation's Heritage, National Park Service (Winter/Spring 2007: 26), http://npshistory.com/newsletters/common_ground/winter-spring-2007.pdf

8 Henry Louis Gates, "How Reconstruction Still Shapes American Racism," accessed June 30, 2019, https://time.com/5562869/Reconstruction-history/.

9 *The Code of Virginia* (Richmond: William F. Ritchie. 1849), 747, https://books.google.com/

tion, community and institution building, exercising their civil rights, enfranchisement and holding office along with repression and violence across the NCA. Reconstruction laws and policies added challenges as well as opportunities as the new citizens fought for control of labor and wages for themselves and their children.

Attempts to reunite the country during the Reconstruction Era is divided into three broad entwined themes. One reflects state laws and codes, as well as congressional, legislative, and judicial approaches that have alm ost exclusively defined Reconstruction for over a century. The second and historically least addressed theme exposes African American initiatives and proactive responses over time. The quest for freedom, citizenship, and equality motivated Blacks across the NCA. A final theme focuses on the consequences of the unrepentant attitudes around race, equality, and citizenship for African Americans and the destructive reactions of the region's inhabitants during the Reconstruction years. Their attitudes paralleled the national stance and set a racial tone that has survived into the twenty-first century. The far-reaching effects of this complex political and legal, racial and economic, social and cultural battleground remain embedded today in our national identity.

The history of Reconstruction is almost exclusively known through the eleven slaveholding secessionist states of the confederacy. Of those states, Virginia was considered the least affected. The Reconstruction Era in the five border states of Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, and West Virginia has received far less scholarly attention. Northern states rarely received consideration; Reconstruction, by definition, did not apply to them.

Until the emergence of recent scholarship, the complexity of the Reconstruction era was easily the most poorly comprehended yet significant era in United States history. This overlooked, misunderstood crucial piece of the nation's rich history began with deep ties to the Civil War that extended into the Civil Rights Era and beyond. With attempts to vanquish repressive pre- and post-Civil War Black Codes, America attempted to honor the formal end of slavery and the first steps into Reconstruction. Rights and votes were new tools for protecting the vulnerable position of the newly freed from the dominant politics of the past. The country was striving to establish the meaning of civil rights and equality articulated by the Civil Rights amendments conceived and passed during Reconstruction. Rights could be protected by disallowing threatening outcomes or the franchise could

books?id=p1BRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA747&lpg=PA747#v=onepage&q&f=false accessed July 16, 2019; Richard Paul Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor: The Black Family under Pressure in Post-Emancipation Maryland," *Agricultural History*, vol. 62, no. 4, 1988, 57–74. Accessed July 17, 2019, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/3743375.

be used to enhance the decision-making power for African American male voters. As historian Edward Ingle observed, freedom and hope stood on one side of the political equation and "grave doubt and anxiety for the white race" on the other. Out of slavery's passing and disappearance followed the Reconstruction era. Its social, racial, economic, and political questions, after generations have passed, remain unsettled.[10]

RECONSTRUCTION ERA DEFINED AND REDEFINED

Historical eras rarely begin definitively or end abruptly even when anchored by historical events, and so it was with Reconstruction. Although the commonly accepted dates for the period of Reconstruction are 1863-1877, several dates signal the start of the post-Civil War era of reconciliation in different parts of the NCA.[11] While the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation is one conventional marker for the beginning of Reconstruction, different scholars have argued for various beginning dates. Some scholars look to pre-Civil War roots and the denial of the rights of citizenship for African Americans in the Supreme Court decision in the Dred Scott case of 1857 as the moment that ushered in legal rulings pertaining to birthright citizenship and civil rights. The NPS National Historic Landmark Theme Study "The Era of Reconstruction" sets the dates between 1861 and 1900.[12] For this report, the authors agree with others who see Reconstruction as beginning with the thousands among the enslaved who fled slavery and passed through Union lines during the earliest days of the Civil War in 1861. They escaped slavery before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued and before the concept of Reconstruction had been articulated or named for that matter, but it was already underway. The country had known no precedent; the War Department had no established policy. By 1865, Abraham Lincoln observed, "We simply begin with, and mould from, disorganized and discordant elements. Nor is it a small additional embarrassment that we, the loyal people, differ among ourselves as to the mode, manner, and means of reconstruction."[13]

---

10 Daryl J. Levinson, "Rights and Votes." The Yale Law Journal, vol. 121, no. 6, 2012, pp. 1286–1363. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/41510449 accessed July 25, 2019. Edward Ingle, *The Negro in the District of Columbia* (Johns Hopkins Press: Baltimore, 1893), 7-8. Report of the Select Committee on Reconstruction, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t25b05z8t;view=1up;seq=17 accessed July 25, 2019.

11 See map depicting Counties in the National Capital Area, ix.

12 Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur, "The Era of Reconstruction, 1861-1900," National Historic Landmark Theme Study, NPS, accessed January 26, 2021, http://www.npshistory.com/publications/nhl/theme-studies/reconstruction-era.pdf.

13 Stephen D. Engle, Defining Reconstruction: How the Civil War Changed a People and a Nation, Workshop, April 27, 2019, Smithsonian Associates, Smithsonian; Abraham Lincoln's Last Public Address, Washington, D.C., April 11, 1865 in Abraham Lincoln, *Collected Works, Volume 8*. Roy P. Basler, editor (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 400-401; Alrutheus A. Taylor, *The Negro in Reconstruction in Virginia* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1926).

Moving beyond the 1877 end date, the 1896 Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v Ferguson* embedded the doctrine of "separate but equal" into American racial and legal policies. The ruling upheld the constitutionality of segregation, ushering in the "Jim Crow" era. Its effects would further negate African American progress and stunt the growth of the nation for more than a half century. For the NCA, additional events could signal the end date for Reconstruction. By 1901, North Carolina Republican George Henry White became the last of the Reconstruction era African American congressmen elected to serve in Washington. His access to Congress, and the access of all the African American Reconstruction congressmen was a direct result of Reconstruction laws and Civil Rights legislation passed during Reconstruction. As a signal for the end of Reconstruction, White would be the last African American congressman to serve for the next 28 years. On the legislative side, the 1902 revised constitution of Virginia undercut the intent of Reconstruction, reduced African American suffrage, and was intended to effectively short-circuit their civil rights quest for equality under the law. Henry Lewis Gates extends the timeline farther. He contends that the showing of the film *Birth of a Nation* in the White House by Woodrow Wilson in 1915 was the final blow.[14]

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA

In 1860, before the war, roughly two-thirds of Blacks in the NCA had been enslaved. To highlight the contrasting practices of slavery in the Area, slightly less than 20 percent of the 14,216 Blacks in Washington, D.C had been held in slavery in 1860. Reflecting the large number of plantations in Prince George's County in Maryland, the county accounted for the largest number of enslaved workers in the Area, 12,479 people and at 91 percent, the highest percentage of enslaved workers to free. A little under 10 percent of the total number of 13, 677 Blacks, or 1198 people, in the county were free. Although the enslaved in Montgomery County did not account for high numbers, 78% of the 6,973 Blacks who lived in the county were enslaved. Other Maryland Area counties were repressive in attitude and policy. Montgomery county and the eastern and southern parts of Maryland were pro-secession, but Frederick, Washington, and other western Maryland counties were pro-Union.

At 16,217, the total number of people enslaved in all Virginia counties in the NCA was a few thousand higher than in Prince George's County Maryland alone. The number of people held in slavery in the three of the four Virginia counties in the Area hovered between 81 and 82 percent in 1860. Northern Virginia counties in the NCA had been part of the confederacy; they also bordered Washington, D.C.

[14] Henry Louis Gates Jr., *Reconstruction: America After the Civil War*, WETA, PBS, 2019, accessed January 5, 2021, https://www.pbs.org/weta/reconstruction/.

and were crucial to its protection. In 1860, 49% of the African American population in Alexandria County had been enslaved.

The Union Army occupied Alexandria City from the opening days of the Civil War to the end. It was the longest military occupation by Union troops of any town during the rebellion. For a short time, the city had been the seat of the restored Government of Virginia. This Unionist government opposed Virginia's secession from the Union. The restored government sent Representatives and Senators to the 37th Congress who were seated without objection. Alexandria was declared the temporary capital of the state. In June 1861, preliminary steps were taken to divide the state of Virginia to form the new state of West Virginia. A new constitution abolishing slavery was also adopted in the restored state of Virginia, but not in the Confederacy or in West Virginia.

Since West Virginia was considered a loyal border state when it entered the Union in 1863, it was not required to abolish slavery and the Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to the newest state. On the eve of the Civil War in Jefferson County in West Virginia in the NCA, the population of African Americans had already declined from eleven percent in 1850 to a mere six percent in 1860. By war's end, the percentage African Americans in the county was down to three percent or 17,000. Slavery was finally abolished in West Virginia on February 3, 1865 when it ratified the 13th Amendment and passed a bill immediately abolishing slavery.[15]

Slavery was enforced in the District of Columbia for a full year beyond the outbreak of the Civil War. Lincoln finally put an end to the practice on April 16, 1862 when he signed The District of Columbia Compensated Emancipation Act. "White people who enslaved Black people in the District are compensated for their 'financial loss' after emancipation in the District, but Black people are not compensated for being held in bondage"[16] or for the economic contributions of their labor. The Act paid slaveholders up to $300 for each person that was freed from slavery. In the months following the enactment of the law, more than 930

15 "The Restored Government of Virginia: History of the New State of Things," *New York Times*, Jun 26, 1864, 3; Caroline Spencer, Compiler, African American Population Statistics in the NPS National Capital Area, 1860-1900, November 2020 (see Appendix A); Joe W. Trotter, "Memphis Tennessee Garrison and the African American West Virginia Experience" in *Memphis Tennessee Garrison: The Remarkable Story of A Black Appalachian Woman*, ed. Ancells R. Bickley and Lynda Ann Ewen, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001, 215-227; Joe William Trotter, Jr., "African American Heritage." e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org.

16 Kilolo Kijakazi, Rachel Marie Brooks Atkins, Mark Paul, Anne E. Price, Darrick Hamilton, and William A. Darity Jr. 2016. *The Color of Wealth in the Nation's Capital* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2016 - a joint publication of the Urban Institute, Duke University, The New School, and the Insight Center for Community Economic Development), viii, accessed February 2, 2021, https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/85341/2000986-the-color-of-wealth-in-the-nations-capital.pdf.

petitions, granting freedom to 2,989 former slaves, were approved by commissioners.[17]

Furthermore, slavery had been abolished at different times for each state in the Area. The different dates for the end of slavery mixed with the chaos of war left bondsmen and women with new options that drove the earliest moments of Reconstruction. With the end of enslavement in April 1862, the District of Columbia emerged as an early haven for freedom seekers, many of whom came from the bordering counties of Maryland. The Act inspired many enslaved Marylanders, including Prince Georgians to head south into the District to acquire their freedom. In 1860, Maryland's Prince George's County's enslaved population outnumbered the combined total of the free population, both white and Black. The county had the highest ratio of enslaved persons in the NCA. Escape to the District offered a nearby path out of bondage as long as Maryland continued the practice of slavery. In addition to the District, escapees from both Maryland and Virginia sought safety behind federal lines in both jurisdictions as well.[18]

As early as March of 1860, the *Montgomery Sentinel* was printing staunchly secessionist editorials urging Maryland and Montgomery County to "be prepared to meet her sisters of the South," and proclaiming that "the people of Maryland . . . are most vitally interested in the protection of slave property and in the faithful observance of all the guaranties of the federal constitution . . ." The state, however, did not secede nor did it end slavery until November 1864 with the writing of a new constitution. When the people received the new constitution for ratification, the vote left no doubt about the great divisions that persisted within the state. The new constitution was approved by the narrowest of margins, with 375 absentee ballots cast by of soldiers making the difference out of nearly 60,000 cast. Despite Prince George's County voting 9 to 1 against emancipation, Maryland ratified a new constitution that ended slavery. Along the mid-Maryland Border, for both former Confederates and the new freedmen in the Area, old political, social, and racial divisions had outlasted the war.[19]

---

17 The Civil War: The Senate's Story, DC Compensated Emancipation Act, United States Senate, accessed December 26, 2020, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/civil_war/DCEmancipationAct_FeaturedDoc.htm#:~:text=On%20April%2016%2C%201862%2C%20the,to%20%24300%20for%20each%20freeperson.

18 Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

19 Proceedings and Debates of the 1864 Constitutional Convention, Volume 102, Volume 1, Debates 1926, Archives of Maryland Online, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000102/html/am102d--1926.html; "Reconstructing the Region," NPS, accessed February 27, 2021, http://www.crossroadsofwar.org/wp-content/uploads/LATEST-Reconstruction-revised-DH-with-images1.pdf.

The Emancipation Proclamation ended slavery in the rebelling parts of Virginia in January 1863. At the outbreak of the Civil War, West Virginia did not yet exist as a state. John Brown and the events at Harpers Ferry seared the state and Jefferson County into the nation's memory. When West Virginia split from Virginia after the state's secession and initially entered the Union in 1863, it came in both as a border state and a slaveholding state. For the western part of the state that remained a loyal member of the United States and was to become West Virginia, the Restored Government of Virginia abolished slavery in early April 1864. However, gradual emancipation laws and constitutional provisions of the first constitution of West Virginia left many people enslaved until slavery formally ended. Although West Virginia's first constitution called for the phasing out of slavery, only ratification of the 13th Amendment in December 1865 completely abolished slavery in that state. These different dates and spaces of freedom led to a mix of experiences across the Area.[20]

With the dawning of a new day at the end of the Civil War, the African American population in Washington had tripled, moving from over 14,000 in 1860 to more than 43,000 by 1870. More than 25,000 African Americans had migrated to the District.[21] African Americans were 20 percent of the population in 1860 and had grown to a third by 1870 where it remained through 1900. Washington had been home to elite Blacks who had enjoyed freedom for decades. The city was also home to enslaved African Americans freed in 1862 through the Compensated Emancipation Act and the new home for thousands of poorly educated refugees who had escaped from slavery at the outbreak of the Civil War. The Act led to the doubling of the population to the NCA and provided a perceived safe haven in the District for the newly freed people of color.

As Federal troops expanded occupation of the rebellious southern states during the Civil War, freedom seekers flooded into Union-controlled areas. Because the escapees were still defined as legal property before the abolition of slavery, they were labeled as contrabands of war as a devise to prevent their being returned to slaveholders and re-enslaved. At the outset of the War, Blacks escaping from slavery to Alexandria or Washington, D.C., for example, helped give rise to the concept of contrabands of war—a war term used to confiscate the enslaved "property" of southern slaveholders.

---

20 Spencer, "African American Population Statistics" [see Appendix A]; Christian G. Samito, *Lincoln and the Thirteenth Amendment* (Carbondale: South Illinois University Press, 2015); Maryland Constitution of 1864, Art.24; Sara B. Bearss, "Restored and Vindicated: The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1864," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 2014, Vol. 122, No. 2 (2014), 156-18.1

21 Howard Gillette, Jr., *Between Justice and Beauty: Race, Planning, and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington, D.C.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

To defend Washington during the Civil War, Union troops constructed a ring of forts in Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia around the city. Union forces worried that Confederate forces would try to take the capital city. At the end of the War, land near several Union forts continued to symbolize freedom for African Americans. These forts in addition to the contraband camps, particularly in Virginia, were among the first Black communities established.

Although Maryland had a small number of contraband camps that sheltered escapees from slavery, when the state has received discrete scholarly analysis, the focus generally has been on Baltimore which is outside the NCA. Two of the Maryland forts in the NCA clustered along the Potomac River boundary at the District line. Another three sat along the northwestern edge of the District line along its border with Maryland. Fort Foote guarded the southernmost point of the Potomac River approach from Confederate attack. Fort Foote offered greater protection than the aging Fort Washington seven miles further south downriver.

Throughout the tumultuous period of war and Reconstruction, Congress held absolute power and exclusive authority over the District of Columbia and congressional radicals sought to implement policies without interference from state or local authorities. According to Asch and Musgrove, writing in *Chocolate City*, "Each major piece of Reconstruction legislation, from freedmen's relief to Black men's suffrage to education, was 'field tested' in the District before being implemented across a resistant South."[22] Understanding both the productive and the debilitating aspects of Reconstruction is necessary to fully grasp the history of the United States and democracy. Understanding who is defined as an American, and relations between the federal and state governments, all coalesce in the period and had long-term, far-reaching effects on the nation. The concept of civil rights also originated in American law during this critical time as did contemporary issues relating to race and citizenship.

TYPES OF RECONSTRUCTION

Reconstruction is largely defined by the laws and acts that governed the terms of readmission of the insurrectionary states to the Union. The timeline for Reconstruction is marked by the various acts and plans.[23] In December 1863, less than a year after President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, he outlined the first comprehensive program for Reconstruction, the Ten Percent Plan. This First Reconstruction Plan, also referred to as Lincoln's plan, stipulated

[22] Kate Masur, *An Example for All the Land: Emancipation and the Struggle over Equality in Washington, D.C.*, (The University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Chris Myers Asch and George Derek Musgrove, *Chocolate City: A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation's Capital* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 122.

[23] See Reconstruction Timeline, 1862-1910, this volume, xv.

that when one-tenth of a former Confederate state's voters had taken an oath of loyalty, they could establish a new state government. This plan can be thought of as Lincoln's attempt to weaken the Confederacy rather than offering a reconstructive blueprint for the postwar South. Although the plan was put into operation in parts of the Union-occupied Confederacy, none of the new governments realized broad local support.[24]

At the 1864 Virginia convention to revise the constitution, the labor of African Americans, unpaid during slavery, continued to occupy the minds of Virginia legislators at the outset of Reconstruction. Virginia laws, for example, delved into labor contracts for the new freedmen and carefully explained what constituted vagrancy and elaborated on its consequences and penalties. Any person not working and deemed a vagrant could be "employed in labor for any term not exceeding three months [and] be hired out for the best wages that can be procured."[25] Such laws overlooked the unfair labor practices the freedmen endured at the hands of former slaveholders and were designed to limit economic options and reestablish plantation-like conditions.[26]

Almost immediately both Virginia and Maryland enacted onerous apprenticeships for Black children designed to perpetuate near slavery conditions. Over the objections of parents, and within a month of Maryland emancipation on November 1, 1864, "literally thousands of former slaves had been bound to white masters." Prince George's County in Maryland was heavily involved in instituting apprenticeships. The realization that disloyal former slaveholders and unjust practices would prevail over high principles and mere rhetoric galvanized Black communities and sustained political organizing.[27]

For African American escapees, the military occupation of Alexandria brought opportunities on an unmatched scale. Behind the safety and protection of Union lines, these newly arrived people of color found both comparative freedom and employment in the cities of Alexandria and Washington. Over the course of the war, Union occupiers transformed Alexandria into a major supply depot, and transport and hospital center, all under army control. In Alexandria, the self-emancipated contrabands labored in the army as construction workers, nurses

24 Eric Foner, *Forever Free: The Story of Emancipation & Reconstruction* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006).

25 *Acts of the General Assembly, 1865-1866; Excerpts from Virginia's Black Codes* (1866), "Laws in Relation to Freedmen," 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. 6, Freedman's Affairs, U. S. History Scene, accessed December 27, 2020, https://ushistoryscene.com/article/excerpts-virginia-black-codes-1866/.

26 Alrutheus A. Taylor, *The Negro in Reconstruction in Virginia* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1926).

27 Ibid; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction Updated Edition: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2014).

and hospital stewards, as longshoremen, painters, and wood cutters. Men and women contributed to the Union cause as teamsters, laundresses and cooks, and as gravediggers, personal servants, and ultimately as soldiers and sailors. As Chandra Manning observes, ". . . the tens of thousands of black men, women, and children who placed themselves in direct contact with the U.S. government by fleeing to Civil War contraband camps throughout the occupied South altered the relationship between the central state and the individual in the United States."[28]

Historians remind us that there had been "no tradition of government responsibility for a huge refugee population and no bureaucracy to administer a large welfare, employment and land reform program."[29] By March 3, 1865, an act established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau to address these concerns and protections. Congress, the Union army, and the Freedmen's Bureau had no guidelines; circumstances forced precedent.

The Freedmen's Bureau came into existence as an Act of Congress in 1865 under President Lincoln's administration, and was organized into districts covering the eleven former Confederate states, the border states of Maryland, Kentucky and West Virginia and Washington, D.C., plus Delaware and Missouri. By September 1865, the entire state of Maryland had been placed under its jurisdiction. Establishing schools was the major focus and accomplishment. Underfunded and understaffed and intended as a temporary agency to last one year beyond the War, the Bureau was placed under the authority of the War Department. Civil War soldiers comprised most of its original employees.[30]

The Bureau's activities involved supervision of abandoned and confiscated property, providing relief, and helping the freedmen and women become self-sufficient. The Bureau also operated hospitals and refugee camps as well as supervised labor contracts. In Virginia and Prince George's County in Maryland, managing apprenticeship disputes and complaints focused on control of the labor of the children of the freedmen and women also required the Bureau's attention immediately after the war. In Maryland, the Bureau's mission of providing education for freedmen was obstructed by the system of illegal apprenticeship of school-age children that stood in direct conflict with the Civil Rights Act of 1866.[31] Through

[28] Chandra Manning, "Working Toward Citizenship in Civil War Contraband Camps," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (June 2014), 172-204, 172.

[29] Paul Cimbala and Randall Miller, eds. *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), 346.

[30] Freedmen's Bureau, History.com, A&E Television Networks, June 1, 2010, accessed February 14, 2019, https://www.history.com/topics/Black-history/freedmens-bureau; Cimbala and Miller, eds., *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction*, 346.

[31] 14 Stat. 27 Chapter 31, 39 Congress, Session 1, An Act: To protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and furnish the means of their vindication. (Apr. 9,

the apprenticeship system and with the help of Maryland government officials, Black children were being bound to their former owners for indefinite periods of time. It is estimated that 10,000 African American children were bound out as apprentices between 1864 and 1867. Using writs of habeas corpus and other court actions, the Bureau worked tirelessly for the release of the children from these objectional contracts. By 1868, the intense efforts of the Bureau had largely put an end to the apprenticeship system in Maryland.[32]

The Constitution of West Virginia called for the state to provide a system of free education. However, whites controlled funds for schools and employment of teachers, and schools for Blacks and whites remained separate, as required by law. Bureau officials, nonetheless, worked closely with the West Virginia superintendent of free schools in the establishment of schools for freedmen. As in Maryland, Bureau officials traveled throughout West Virginia counties, advising freedmen of their support and plans for building schools. Across the Area, the Bureau largely concerned itself with education for the freedmen, the administration of justice, and veteran's claims. Legalizing marriages and providing transportation to refugees and freedmen who were trying to reunite with family or relocate also fell to the Freedmen's Bureau. [33]

Following the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln in April 1865, Andrew Johnson became president and inaugurated the period of Presidential Reconstruction (1865–67). Also known as Johnson's plan, it offered a pardon to all Southern whites apart from Confederate leaders and wealthy planters, most of whom later received individual pardons. The plan restored their political rights and all property except the right to hold people in slavery. Johnson also outlined how new state governments would be created. Except for the requirement that the states abolish slavery, renounce secession, and eliminate the Confederate debt, former confederate state governments were granted a free reign in managing their affairs.

Both the Second Freedman's Bureau Act and the Civil Rights Bill of 1866 were among the major legislative achievements of that year. Originally, the Freedmen's Bureau had been intended to function for one year. In January of 1866, a bill to extend the provisions of the Freedmen's Bureau Act was introduced. The Bill had an impact on the NCA; it removed an expiration date and encompassed freedmen and refugees across in the United States rather than merely in the former Confed-

1866) Stat. 27 (1866), Heinonline, accessed March 21, 2021, https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.slavery/ssactsaa0058&div=1&src=home.

32 "Records of the Field Offices for the States of Maryland and Delaware," United States Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872 [microfilm], accessed January 5, 2021, archive.org/details/recordsoffiemary0024unit/page/n7/mode/2up.

33 Ibid.

erate states. The bill renewed and extended the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau to build schoolhouses. Since Virginia was the only state in the Area to have joined the confederacy, the Bill now applied to the freedmen and women in the remaining states of Maryland and West Virginia and in the District of Columbia as well. Virginia's response, along with other states governed by the Reconstruction Acts, was to enact Black codes beginning in 1866.

In the early days of Reconstruction, the Freedmen's Bureau received frequent complaints of "outrages" against the freedman. Some Marylanders looked to the federal government to intervene as the state tried to drift back to pre-war conditions. There was widespread disregard for the rights and safety of the freedmen and women in Prince George's, Montgomery and Frederick counties in Maryland as well as in Fairfax and Loudoun counties in Virginia, in addition to the District. General Orders No. 44 required military authorities to make arrests when civil authorities failed to do so. Under the order, white men in Fairfax and Alexandria counties were arrested for assaults on freedmen. A military force sent to Loudoun County helped quell incidences there. The Bureau stated that reports of "outrages" in the NCA counties did substantially diminish with issuance of the orders. The Bureau further reported that the legal disabilities of the freedmen in NCA counties in Maryland were particularly great and state laws did little to prevent discrimination against the rights of Blacks by county or other local authorities. Maryland's local county laws contained discriminatory statutes against African Americans. In Prince George's County, for example, Blacks could not assemble for public worship except for certain days named in the statute. In May of 1866, a Black woman suffered an unprovoked assault in Montgomery County which was tried as a civil rights case under the law. Notably, the case upheld the competency of African Americans as witnesses.

The Civil Rights Bill proposed to establish equality in the enjoyment of civil rights for all citizens—the right to enter into contracts, and to enforce payment of their wages. Considering the generations of forced unpaid labor Blacks had suffered, the means of holding and enjoying the proceeds of their labor was a central concern as was the power to sue and to hold real and personal property. This was "in direct conflict with the sentiment of the people of Virginia" and was also against some of the State statutes.[34]

President Johnson's staunch opposition to measures taken to ensure equal rights for Black citizens defied the Republican-controlled Congress. Johnson made his

[34] Herbert Hill, *Black Labor and the American Legal System: Race, Work and the Law* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 69; Taylor, *The Negro in Reconstruction in Virginia*.

position clear with his pardon of thousands of Confederate officials and sympathizers and attempts to reinforce the idea of white supremacy in the South. African Americans' strong resistance to implementation of these measures seriously undermined Northern support for Johnson's policies. The result contributed to his near impeachment.[35]

Because of Johnson's stance, Presidential Reconstruction came to an end when Congressional Republicans mounted opposition to Johnson's policies. Wrenching control away from the President made way for Radical or Congressional Reconstruction. Perhaps better known as Military Reconstruction, the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 divided the South into five military districts except for Tennessee and outlined how new governments, based on manhood suffrage without regard to race, were to be established. The Acts outlined the necessary steps for the establishment of new state governments and recognition by Congress for readmission to the Union. The former rebelling states had to meet criteria related to protecting the rights of African Americans and their property. Each former Confederate state seeking full recognition and federal representation in Congress was compelled to write a new constitution, one that required approval by a majority of voters including African Americans. Each state was also required to ratify the 13th and 14th Amendments before they could rejoin the Union. Under the terms of the Act, Republican governments came to power across the South.

For the first time in American history, Blacks realized a pathway to a genuine share of political power. According to Masur, the law's prohibition of racial discrimination in common carriers in the District, "transcended the widely agreed-upon vision of 'equality before the law' because private associations were regulated by the law. In the District, as well as other southern cities, Blacks mounted concerted demands for access to streetcars as a result.[36]

In Maryland, efforts at re-enslaving young Black men and women through a revival of particularly onerous practice of indentured servitude sanctioned by the Orphans Court, was reversed using a writ of habeas corpus in the federal courts.

This period of Radical or Congressional Reconstruction lasted to 1877 and the end of the last Southern Republican governments.[37] Until redefinition borne of

[35] Foner, "Reconstruction," accessed July 9, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/event/Reconstruction-United-States-history.

[36] Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 112.

[37] Foner, "Reconstruction," accessed July 9, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/event/Reconstruction-United-States-history; Robert A. Pollard, Ed., *The History of the Loudoun County Courthouse and Its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice, and Racial Equality in Loudoun County*, The Report of Loudoun County Heritage Commission, accessed December 28, 2020, https://www.loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/151802/Heritage-Commission-Report-Final?bidId=.

recent scholarship, the end of Reconstruction was almost universally marked by the Compromise of 1877. Withdrawal of federal troops took place that year in the five military districts which included Virginia and ushered in an era defined by unimaginable violence and repression against African Americans across the South.

THE END DATES OF RECONSTRUCTION RECONSIDERED

The dates that slavery was declared at an end and the enslaved found their way out of slavery signaled the beginning of Reconstruction in the various jurisdictions and do not constitute a single applicable date. Similarly, the dates marking the so-called end of the national Reconstruction in the NCA also vary depending on the event and the impact of those events generally assigned to Reconstruction's end. The nation continued to deal with the reactions to Reconstruction policies and laws well after 1877. The Supreme Court legal doctrine of separate but equal facilities for African Americans in the 1896 *Plessy v Ferguson* ruling, overlapped with Black Codes and the emergence of repressive Jim Crow laws and practices. While the Compromise of 1877 and the resulting outcome of the Tilden-Hayes election is the most frequently cited historical event linked to the end of Reconstruction and the subsequent withdrawal of federal troops from the south in 1877 triggering the end of Military Reconstruction, this analysis does not take into account the state legislation, judicial rulings, and social structures in addition to the African American political stance that extended the end possibly to a year or two beyond 1900. With the removal of government controls in 1877, for example, Virginia's revised constitution of 1902 reduced African American suffrage with the intention of short-circuiting their civil rights gains, their quest for equality under the law, and the suffrage rights of Black men.

A historical void exists—a no man's land of sorts—between the general agreed upon end of Reconstruction in 1877 and 1900 when the euphemistically termed "Jim Crow" phase of disenfranchisement, violent retribution, virulent discrimination and general vitriol on the part of southern White America toward its Black brethren spread throughout most of the country. Southern racism coupled with political abandonment and northern indifference enabled a century's worth of disaster for African American civil, political, social, and economic rights. The racism and White fear that accompanied the waning moments of Reconstruction set up what historian Barbara Gannon calls "the three horsemen of the Black apocalypse, segregation, disenfranchisement and lynching . . . making this era . . . the nadir of Black life in America," as if slavery had not already claimed that distinction.[38]

[38] Barbara Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2011), 2.

For this report, 1877 pointed to the beginning of the end. If the Tilden-Hayes election signaled the end of federal support for Reconstruction, *Plessy v. Ferguson* was its judicial equivalent in 1896. Ushering in "separate but equal" and sanctioning the withering effects of Jim Crow laws across the Area, *Plessy v. Ferguson* "was the first major inquiry into the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. It gave constitutional sanction to laws designed to achieve racial segregation by means of separate but equal public facilities and services for African Americans and whites which would not be overturned until the Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954. When it came to the political arithmetic of racial equality, the Supreme Court figured on both sides of the equation, both impeding and advancing racial progress.

Maryland acted to segregate its schools well ahead of the Supreme Court ruling. The state established schools for white students in 1860 and segregated schools for Blacks in 1872. The Plessy ruling became the foundation of school segregation in 17 states and the District of Columbia. Public schools in the nation's capital had been legally segregated as early as 1862 and continued until the city's participation in the 1954 Supreme Court case mostly brought an end to the practice. Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia established laws requiring racial segregation between the 1880s and 1900s.[39] Virginia's revised constitution of 1902 would mandate segregated schools and fewer public appropriations.

In the District of Columbia, Congress terminated all elected offices in 1874 in a move that effectively disfranchised Black voters. Between 1890 and 1910 southern states killed the last vestiges of Reconstruction policies and reform. Southern states often wrote into their Constitutions several devices and injustices that continued to impinge on the freedom of Black citizens that further dismantled the work of Reconstruction. In the 1890s, Democratic politicians instituted Jim Crow laws designed to legally disfranchise Black voters in West Virginia. By 1902, the Virginia Constitution discriminated against Blacks by disfranchising nearly 90 percent of the Black men who had voted at the beginning of the twentieth century. The number of eligible African American voters plunged from about 147,000 in 1901 to less than 10,000 between 1904 and 1905.[40]

[39] Chelsea Coffin, "Landscape of Diversity in D.C. Public Schools," December 17, 2018, D. C. Policy Center, https://www.dcpolicycenter.org/publications/landscape-of-diversity-in-dc-public-schools/#:~:text=D.C.'s%20public%20schools%20were,of%20Education%20and%20Bolling%20v; Desegregation Timeline, Montgomery County, Maryland, Public Schools, Montgomery History, accessed January 24, 2021, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Integration-timeline.pdf.

[40] Masur, *An Example For All the Land;* Stephen D. Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction: Blacks in the political Reconstruction of West Virginia," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 78, no. 3, 1993, 137; *A Guide to the African American Heritage in Arlington County Virginia*, Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, Second edition 2016. https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.

In Maryland in 1910, the Digges Plan proposed to increase property requirements for voter registration in a blatantly unconstitutional effort to disfranchise most African American voters and many poor Whites. Already, other Maryland laws had successfully reduced Black voter rolls. The proposed amendment was rejected by voters and defeated at the general election. The state legislature did pass a poll tax in 1904, in the face of forceful opposition. The tax was in effect for seven years before it was repealed in 1911. Legislative bills intended to disenfranchise Maryland Blacks failed three times in 1905, 1908 and 1910. The bills were beaten back due, in large part to the voting power, vigilance, and activism of Black Baltimoreans.[41]

DAWNING OF A NEW HOPE

Meant, in part, to ensure a smooth transition from enslavement to freedom and to pave the path to full citizenship, the story of Reconstruction often has been reduced to rights given to and ending with rights taken away from African Americans, and the rise of the repressive decades labeled "Jim Crow." In the words of W.E.B. DuBois, "The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery."[42] Accounts of skullduggery persisted perpetrated primarily by Whites in power in the name of rebuilding the United States. Booker T. Washington's assessment was that "the Negro has borne the brunt of every mistake of the period of Reconstruction."[43]

Passage of the three great postwar constitutional amendments, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments abolished slavery, guaranteed newly freed African Americans equal protection of the law, and gave all male American citizens the right to vote regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The U. S. Constitution was amended to establish birthright citizenship through the Fourteenth Amendment, which also guaranteed equality before the law regardless of race. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, barred racial discrimination in voting, which secured the ballot for Black men nationwide.[44]

These amendments, however, did not fulfill on their guarantees. Neither the courts nor the American public accepted the full implications of the new amendments. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments should have negated the

pdf, accessed July 10, 2019; Disfranchisement in Virginia, Virginia Places, accessed January 24, 2021, http://www.virginiaplaces.org/government/disfranchisement.html.

41 Dennis Patrick Halpin, *A Brotherhood of Liberty: Black Reconstruction and Its Legacies in Baltimore 1865-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 134-36.

42 W. E. B. Du Bois, Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880. 1935. Reprint with Introduction by David Levering Lewis, 1992 (New York: Free Press, 1998), 30.

43 Booker T. Washington, *Frederick Douglass* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), 247, Doc South, https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/doug1906/menu.html.

44 The Fifteenth Amendment, National Constitution Center, accessed September 23, 2019, https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/amendment/amendment-xv.

withering effects of the Black Codes. Instead, violent reprisals were firmly instituted throughout the Era, but reached a nadir, particularly throughout the former confederate states, with the end of Constitutional or Military Reconstruction in 1877.

The Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875, designed to protect the rights of all Americans regardless of race and endow them with the rights to "the full and equal enjoyment" of public places, failed. The collapse of legal protections originated in Washington, D.C., as the seat of federal power even as its African American citizens were experiencing the repercussions of federal policies at the local level. The concepts buckled in the face of vehement retribution and legislative and judicial backlash emanating from the nation's capital and Black male disenfranchisement. As the 1880 report, written by the minority party of the Senate select committee investigating the exodus of Blacks out of the south after the Civil War asked, "Is there any other government among civilized nations that would have permitted such acts to be perpetuated against its citizens?"[45] It would be another century before the promise of Reconstruction was again addressed with passage of the modern iteration of the Civil Rights Acts in the 1960s.

Even as Congress worked to end permanently local self-government for the District of Columbia, the legislative body did eventually establish schools for Black children, ban discrimination on streetcars and railroads, enfranchise Black men, and forbid racial discrimination in office holding and jury service while enlarging the elective franchise."[46]

Reconstruction is more than a legal or political saga. It is a story of African American institution building as well as their opposition to threats of violence and loss of self-determination. The Era reveals a country rife with intractable differences and the attempts of the nation to reconnect. Narratives related to white philanthropy, military rule, and even white resistance and civil unrest are integral to this historic period. The discourse includes themes of enfranchisement and the expansion of democracy; violence, retribution and civil unrest, land and labor reform, Black institution building, the quest for education, and the expansion of federal power, in addition to the remaking of the South and the rise of Jim Crow.

In historicizing Reconstruction, prevailing social attitudes, opinions and biases were at the foundation of early twentieth century scholarship on the various

---

45 Report of the Minority, in Report and Testimony of the Select Committee to Investigate the Causes of the Removal of the Negroes from the Southern States to the Northern States, in Three Parts. United States Congress, Senate Select Committee on Negro Exodus, 1880, XXII, accessed July 8, 2019, https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/210633.

46 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*.

phases of Reconstruction ranging from "the timid overtures of Andrew Johnson to the bolder strokes of the Radical Republicans."[47] Many scholars writing during this period not only personally opposed racial integration, but also Black voting rights. They viewed Andrew Johnson's extremely limited plans for rebuilding the South as those of a high-minded constitutionalist. Conversely, historians condemned the more radical phase of Reconstruction, pushed through by the Republican Congress in 1867. These scholars dismissed Radical Reconstruction as a period of massive corruption and government mismanagement caused by the newly won voting rights of Black men and the election of inept Black politicians to office. Order was only restored, these scholars contended, when "home rule" was reestablished—that is when segregation and white supremacy were reestablished in the South and Reconstruction came to an end.

John R. Lynch, one of the first African American Representatives in the House elected during Reconstruction, authored two articles in *The Journal of Negro History* and a book about the era, *The Facts of Reconstruction*, which guarded against and challenged interpretations that disparaged Black political activity during Reconstruction. His eye-witness account stands as the most extensive narrative of the post-Civil War years written by and from the prospective of an African American statesman and participant.[48]

In *An Example for All the Land: Emancipation and the Struggle Over Equality in Washington*, Kate Masur observed that post-Civil War citizenship largely focused on the relationship of the federal government to the states. Washington, as the capital—not being a state—had a distinctive relationship with the federal government. Masur explained, "Congressional debates, presidential policy, and the tumult on the streets of the city had produced an unusually unadulterated debate about the meanings of equality." Much of the official debate focused on Reconstruction policies for the states of the former Confederacy rather than the states and counties that comprised the NCA. "Congress's exclusive jurisdiction in the District cut away much of the chaff, exposing the core of their disagreements about the rights to which all people were entitled and the measures that were necessary to secure them. African American leaders understood that the District of Columbia could be a laboratory for egalitarian policy and pressed Congress to pass local laws that reflected their expansive aspirations."[49]

47 "Historical Interpretation and the National Park Service at Hampton National Historic Site," accessed September 18, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/hamp/historical_interpretation.pdf.

48 John R. Lynch, *The Facts of Reconstruction* (The Neale Publishing Company, 1913), accessed September 23, 2019, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16158/16158-h/16158-h.htm; "John Roy Lynch (1847-1939): An Unusual Man Living in an Unusual Time" in Stanley Turkel, *Heroes of the American Reconstruction: Profiles of Sixteen Educators, Politicians and Activists* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Inc., 2005), 95-100.

49 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 3-5.

Reconstruction, however, blurred lines around the concept of freedom being merely the release from bondage and enslavement versus the underlying expectation of equality. Kate Masur observed that "When people demanded equal rights, they were in essence asking for government measures that would ensure that individuals who were viewed as unequal would be treated equally or offered equal opportunities. But the questions of what measures to take and which inequities to attempt to remedy were extraordinarily difficult to settle." [50] Masur continued, "The equal rights tradition represented by the Declaration of Independence was extremely important during Reconstruction, but so, too, was another thread of thinking that focused more on inequality than on equality, and more on status and privileges than on individual rights."[51]

Henry Louis Gates captured African American resistance and triumph as they endured and emerged from one repressive era into the next.

> Denied the ballot box, African American women and men organized political associations, churches, schools and social clubs, both to nurture their own culture and to speak out as forcefully as they could against the suffocating oppression unfolding around them. Though brutalized by the shockingly extensive practices of lynching and rape, reinforced by terrorism and vigilante violence, they exposed the crimes and hypocrisy of white supremacy in their own newspapers and magazines, and in marches and political rallies.[52]

[50] Ibid., p. 4.
[51] Ibid., pp. 4-5.
[52] Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "How Reconstruction Still Shapes American Racism," TIME, April 2, 2019, accessed July 8, 2019, https://time.com/5562869/Reconstruction-history/.

PART I: NATIONAL POLITCAL INFLUENCE ON THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA

CHAPTER ONE: THE DAWN OF RECONSTRUCTION

At the beginning of the Civil War, more than four million people were held in slavery in the United States of America. Approximately 42,000 of those were enslaved in the NCA. Almost immediately following the outbreak of the war enslaved workers started escaping slavery and seeking protection behind Union lines. With their status in question, these freedom seekers began making their claims for freedom. After some deliberation, and over President Lincoln's objections, both the Union Army and the United States Congress declared that the Union Army would no longer return anyone who had escaped slavery and sought protection and freedom in Union strongholds and encampments. Escapees were to be considered "contraband of war" or captured enemy property. This turned the South's view of the enslaved as property back on itself, since property could be considered contraband and, therefore able to be seized or confiscated and transferred from Confederate to Union property. "Contraband" was a legal stratagem that could get around the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act that mandated the return of freedom seekers who had escaped. Since the Act was in force until a year before the end of the Civil War, the designation of freedom seekers as contraband was a necessary war strategy.[53]

WASHINGTON, D.C. AS MECCA

Black men and women in the District made upstart claims—in advance of any law or other policy—at the U.S. Capitol, on the grounds of the Executive Mansion, and on the city's streetcars. Rather than meek or quiet gestures, Black Washingtonians insisted that White locals and federal officials think about their claims and respond. Black Washingtonians made those demands in a legal climate that was in flux but in a racial environment that was slow to change.

In many ways, Washington, D.C. was a centralizing factor during Reconstruction, whether through congressional influence and actions, or through the perception of it as a mecca of freedom by and for newly freed people of color. Congress had the authority to pass the Emancipation Act because the U. S. Constitution granted it the power to "exercise exclusive legislation" over the federal district. This federal oversight has been a source of conflict throughout Washington's history. Over

[53] An Act to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act of eighteen hundred and fifty, and all Acts and Parts of Acts for the Rendition of Fugitive Slaves, Thirty-Eighth Congress. Sess. I. CH. 166, 167, 168. 1864, LOC, accessed January 23, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/38th-congress/session-1/c38s1ch166.pdf.

40,000 escapees sought refuge and freedom in Washington, D.C. after the passage of the Act. Washington proved safer than either the slaveholding states of Virginia or Maryland. The District of Columbia Emancipation Act made Black Washingtonians the first freed during the war, nine months before President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863 and more than two years prior to the end of the Civil War. With general emancipation, Black Washingtonians overtly demonstrated their jubilance through mass public celebrations. White Washingtonians displayed their rage by smashing church windows, setting fire to buildings, and by attacking and beating African Americans on the street and threatening the teachers at Black schools.[54]

Historians have often characterized post-emancipation upheavals in southern cities as "reflections of an old order turned upside down or of a radically unsettled public sphere" entirely separate and apart from law and government.[55] But constant unrest during Reconstruction laid bare the enormity of the local African American struggles to define themselves within their new status and a new regime for legal equality. As Black Washingtonians quickly learned, the rescinding of the Black Codes had no effect on a range of disempowering practices that subjected racial equality to debate, including voting rights, streetcars and other public accommodations, and public schools.

For the first early years of the war, the Union army repurposed as a jail for captured Confederate soldiers the slave pen used by slave dealers Isaac Franklin and John Armfield who conducted their business on the 1300 block of Duke Street. Armfield lived and worked at 1315 Duke Street, now the present-day site of the Freedom House Museum. In 1864, the larger part of the property and the entire block of Duke, West, Prince, and Payne became the L'Ouverture Hospital at 217 South Payne Street. The Hospital cared for soldiers serving in the U.S. Colored Troops, as well as previously enslaved African Americans who as "contrabands," had escaped to Alexandria.

The first contrabands were housed in the "old brick capitol" on the site of the present Supreme Court building.[56] Two hundred tenements were built at the site of Campbell General Hospital, a Union Civil War hospital that operated between 1862 and 1865 located on Boundary Street NW (now Florida Avenue NW) at 7th Street NW. Large numbers refugees from Virginia assembled in Washington were they were first housed in the Old Capitol Prison, and then in cramped quarters at Duff Green's Row in townhouses east of the Capitol on Capitol Hill where

54 Ibid., 41.
55 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 89.
56 Mark A. Sanders, ed., *A Son's Return: Selected Essays by Sterling A. Brown* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), p. 32.

they were organized as a camp.[57] Later they were housed at Camp Barker on 12th Street, NW to the north of present-day Logan Circle in what is now known as the U Street Corridor. Camp Barker was established in McClellan's barracks, converted army barracks a mile north of the Executive Mansion near the corner of 12th Street and R Street NW. The Camp was operated by the War Department between mid-1862 and late 1863. In addition to a swampy location and miserable conditions, the inhabitants were harassed by nearby Maryland slaveholders attempting to recover their lost property. According to historian Joseph Reidy, the camps and villages were intended to be a "stepping-stone to self-sufficiency." After a brief stay, residents were expected to find work and housing elsewhere in the capital area so that room was available for newer arrivals.[58]

Small families occupied the barracks to the north of the Camp. The able-bodied men among the contrabands worked for the government as teamsters. Families often hired themselves out in the city where women found work as servants. An orphan asylum occupied the extreme north row of buildings. Mothers with their several children lived in the barracks to the south. After receiving instruction in needlework, many of these women sewed for new-comers and provided much-needed garments for the men. A chapel in the center of the south row of quarters also served as a school run by the American Tract Society. Seventy-five children attended the day school; about 100 adults—both men and women—attended night school from 7 to 9 p.m. On the Sabbath, the chapel served the spiritual needs of the community. In the afternoon and evenings, camp residents used the chapel as a space for community and social gatherings.[59] Three of the tents at the center were fitted up as hospital wards, two for men and one for the care of women. Facing a humanitarian crisis, the overcrowded contraband hospitals and camps combined with poor living conditions led to widespread disease that contributed to high mortality rates.

At its height, the Camp housed nearly 4,000 people. As one of the largest contraband camps in the Area, the camp and hospital served Black Civil War soldiers

57 Also called Carroll Prison; Sara Fling, Washington, D.C.'s "Contraband" Camps, The White House Historical Association, accessed June 21, 2021, https://www.whitehousehistory.org/washington-d-c-s-contraband-camps.

58 Ernest B. Ferguson, *Freedom Rising: Washington During the Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004) 256, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Freedom_Rising/h26PDQAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=was+%22McClellan+Barracks%22+at+camp+Barker+during+the+Civil+War%3F&pg=PA256&printsec=frontcover, accessed March 17, 2021; Fling, Washington, D.C.'s 'Contraband' Camps; Joseph P. Reidy, "'Coming from the Shadow of the Past': The Transition from Slavery to Freedom at Freedman's Village, 1863-1900," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 95, no. 4 (1987): 403-28.

59 "Camp Barker," Evening Star, October 24, 1862, accessed January 29, 2021, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1862-10-24/ed-1/seq-3/#date1=1862&index=1&rows=20&words=Barker+Camp+camp&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=District+of+Columbia&date2=1862&proxtext=camp+barker&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1.

and contrabands of war as well as women and families at this swampy location. The contraband asylum and hospital became the first to offer medical treatment to the once enslaved. Established on the grounds of Camp Barker, the hospital was renamed the Freedman's Hospital in 1863. As one of the few medical facilities in Washington, D.C. to treat African Americans, the hospital broke the color barrier by appointing Alexander T. Augusta Surgeon-in-Charge in May 1863. The staff, including nurses and surgeons, was largely African American. An outbreak of cholera forced the government to shut down the hospital in late 1863. Many of the residents either stayed in the area and bought property or relocated to Freedman's Village across the Potomac in Virginia.[60] Freedman's Hospital relocated to the grounds of Campbell General Hospital in January 1865. The hospital was placed under the Freedmen's Bureau which would exert its greatest influence when the hospital was placed under its control and eventually became a teaching hospital for Howard University.

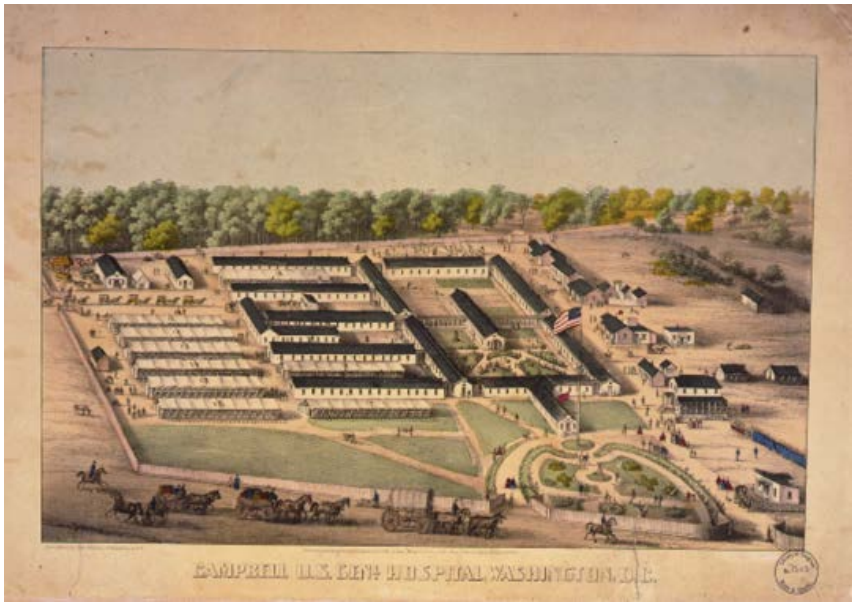


Figure 1. **Campbell General Hospital, the forerunner to Freedman's Hospital.**

Even though both Houses of the U.S. Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment, Washington's native-born free Blacks as well as the White community shunned the unwelcomed, often uneducated presence of the new freedmen and women in their midst.[61] Radical Republicans, satisfied that they had secured civil

[60] Ibid.; Jill Newmark, Contraband Hospital, 1862-18: Health Care for the First Freedpeople, Black Past, https://www.Blackpast.org/African American-history/contraband-hospital-1862-1863-heath-care-first-freedpeople/ accessed September 3, 2019; Jim Downs, *Sick from Freedom: African American Illness and Suffering during the Civil War and Reconstruction*, Oxford Scholarship Online: March 2015, accessed January 30, 2021, https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199758722.001.0001/acprof-9780199758722-chapter-2.

[61] "Housing of Negroes in Washington, D. C." Monthly Labor Review 30, no. 5 (1930): 13-18. Accessed July 8, 2019, http://www.jstor.org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/stable/41860873.

rights for Blacks, were disappointed that the law would not also secure their political rights, and the right to vote in particular.

Congress, again taking the field-testing approach to Washington, D.C., passed the Reconstruction Act of 1867, which gave the city's African American men suffrage three years before passage of the Fifteenth amendment granted all men the right to vote—8,200 registered. Congressional legislation permitted Blacks to serve as witnesses and jurors in D.C. courts, although it was vetoed twice. The city's first Black municipal office holder was elected in 1868.

The legislative history of inequality and mistreatment for people of color in the NCA originated decades before Reconstruction. Even the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, often characterized as one of the most unjust and heinous laws ever passed in the history of American jurisprudence, took on new meaning and an ironic afterlife during Reconstruction. Illinois Senator Lyman Trumbull, then chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee, "used the infamous 1850 statute as a model for the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which revolutionized American jurisprudence by establishing the principle of birthright citizenship and extending to Black Americans many of the rights previously enjoyed exclusively by whites." Trumbull decided to draw on the Fugitive Slave Act's enforcement mechanisms and civil and criminal penalties. He used the mechanisms that superimposed federal power on state law to establish a national responsibility for securing constitutionally protected rights. The Fugitive Slave Act originally passed "for the purpose of punishing persons who should aid Negroes to freedom is now to be applied . . . to the punishment of those who shall undertake to keep them in slavery," Trumbull declared. According to Congressman James Wilson of Iowa, "in the aftermath of the Civil War Congress turned the arsenal of slavery upon itself," wielding "the weapons which slavery has placed in our hands . . . in the holy cause of liberty."[62]

Prior to the start of Reconstruction, Black communities existing in the North as well as in counties in the NCA served as the foundation for Black civilization in America. The rapid rate at which newly freed men and women were able to establish independence, create communities and institutions, indicated that they had laid foundations for networks or infrastructures that hastened their success and progress in the years that preceded and immediately followed slavery.

[62] Eric Foner, *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of the Underground Railroad* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2015), 224-5; Eric Foner, *Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011), 295; Robert Kaczorowski, "The Supreme Court and Congress's Power to Enforce Constitutional Rights: An Overlooked Moral Anomaly," *Fordham Law Review*, 73 (October 2004), 154-243; *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, 1st Session, 475, 1117-18.

UNITED STATES COLORED TROOPS (USCT)

Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. The document did more than provide emancipation to millions of enslaved workers in the confederate states, it also allowed enslaved men to serve in the federal army. Every county in the NCA had USCT recruits. Joining the Union army added another layer to the multi-pronged attack on slavery. Maryland, as a border state allowed to continue the practice of slavery, had been excluded from the Proclamation. Initially, those fleeing slavery in Maryland to join the federal army generally were returned to their enslaver or jailed as runaways. The Army's need for manpower, however, drove an all-out recruitment of Black men in the border states. Federal recruiters demanded official access to free men as well as to the enslaved pool of available potential soldiers in exchange for a bounty paid to slaveholders. Blacks were also recruited from the Contraband Camps to help form regiments of colored troops. Every county in the Area had recruits for what would become the United States Colored Troops.

In the fall of 1863, the War Department's General Order 329 authorized the systematic enlistment of enslaved men in Maryland into the Union Army. Maryland's enslaved men proved more than willing to exchange slavery for military service, but "forcible impressment" was also a problem. In November 1864, Maryland's new state constitution abolished slavery and paved the way for the newly freed to enlist in the Union Army. Maryland recruited six USCT infantry Regiments: 4th, 7th, 9th, 19th, 30th and 39th. The first regiment, the 4th, was organized in July 1863 and the last, the 39th, was organized in March 1864.[63]

Of the 235 men enlisted from Washington County, Maryland, the majority had been free men of color. Six served in the famed Massachusetts 54th Regiment and three served in the Massachusetts 55th but the majority, 42 soldiers, served in Maryland's 4th Regiment. In the town of Sharpsburg, records show eight African American men enlisted in the Union army. At least five of these men were enslaved when they enlisted. One of these enlistees, William Snowden, enlisted in Company K of the 39th United States Colored Infantry in March 1864 and mustered out in December 1865. The county's most famous war veteran, Hagerstown's William O. Wilson, served in the 9th Cavalry US Army. Wilson received the Medal of Honor for his service at the Battle of Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890.[64]

---

63 U. S. C. T. From Washington County, Maryland, WHILBR, https://digital.whilbr.org/digital/collection/p16715coll37/id/578/rec/1; "A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland," The Maryland State Archives, Annapolis and The University of Maryland College Park, Maryland, 2007; United States Colored Troops (USCT) Case Studies, Maryland State Archives, accessed January 27, 2021, http://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/casestudies/usct.html.

64 Ibid.; Slavery and Emancipation in Sharpsburg, MD, Antietam National Battlefield Maryland, NPS, accessed March 22, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/slavery-and-emancipation-in-sharpsburg.htm.

Hundreds of men from Montgomery County who signed up primarily joined the 1st, 23rd, 30th and 39th regiments of the U.S. Colored Troops. Smaller numbers joined the 2nd, 19th, 28th and 31st regiments. All these regiments served in the Army of the Potomac apart from the 1st and 2nd regiments. Before the war was over, of the 200,000 men who served in the USCT, 10,000 men hailed from Maryland.[65]

Beyond the spiritual, civic and social battles that people of color had been waging across the nation since its inception, the Civil War represented the physical fight for freedom and equality. In 1861 at the beginning the Civil War, deployment of troops and materials brought enormous changes to the nation's capital and great opportunities for many held in bondage. By the summer of 1861, there were over 50,000 troops camped around the city, some of whom aided freedom seekers and at one point U.S. Colored Troops were used to protect fugitive slaves from their former slave owners.[66]

Although Virginia was a secessionist state, it did raise six USCT units, two of which were in the NCA. The 2nd U.S. Colored Infantry mustered at Arlington, and the 23rd mustered at Camp Casey in Alexandria. Virginia Area men also served in other USCT units. In Loudon County, approximately fifty among the enslaved served in the Union Army. Most remain anonymous but "At least four Waterford men: James Lewis, 55th Massachusetts, Henson Young, 1st US Colored Troops, Webb Minor of the Loudoun Rangers, and Ed Collins, thought to be a Loudoun Ranger are known to have served. Lewis may have been a freed slave and Collins was free at the time of his enlistment." While Minor was born free, Young was known to have been enslaved. One Loudoun County man, Wilson Middleton, served with the 115th USCT and is buried at Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg, Maryland.[67]

As Reconstruction unfolded, the war veterans returned home or started new lives in new locations. Often one Civil War friend came home with the other to build and/or lead a new community. Many of the first settlers of North Brentwood, in Prince George's County, for example, were veterans of the 19th Regiment, USCT.

65 U. S. C. T. From Washington County, Maryland, WHILBR; "A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland," The Maryland State Archives, Annapolis and The University of Maryland College Park, Maryland, 2007; United States Colored Troops (USCT) Case Studies, Maryland State Archives, accessed January 27, 2021, http://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/casestudies/usct.html.

66 Portia James, "The Most Pleasant and Healthful Place in All the Country. The History of Land Use and Settlement along the Eastern Branch," *East of the River*, 32-33, accessed September 3, 2019, http://cdi.anacostia.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Portia-James-EOR-Article.pdf.

67 "Timeline of Important Events in African American History in Loudoun County, Virginia," The History of Loudoun County, Virginia, accessed July 14, 2019, http://www.loudounhistory.org/history/African American-chronology/.

Returning soldiers worked together with the Freedman's Bureau to help establish and build schools and churches, often on land that they had donated for the purpose.

Black Civil War veterans also brought economic stability although the Freedman's Bureau reported that they were often swindled. The soldiers were a ready market and provided economic opportunities for Black vendors of prepared food, fresh vegetables and fruit, seafood and fish, and laundry and other domestic services. They purchased land, built houses and led the communities they formed or came home and took up the ministry.[68]

A NEW LIFE IN A NEW PLACE

The City of Alexandria—situated between Washington, DC and Mount Vernon and adjacent to the Potomac River—along with the District of Columbia, ranked among the first sites to witness enslaved people's vision of the possibility of new-found freedom with the Union Army through the Civil War. This massive influx of humanity, with little education, no home beyond the recently abandoned plantation or repressive spaces they now sought to leave, came with few political or financial resources. They embarked on this new life amid the war. Filled with rejoicing prayers, they acknowledged their hoped-for deliverance and long desired liberation and almost immediately began searching for and reconnecting with spouses and children, parents, relatives, and friends. Many did not know whether loved ones were living or dead.

Washington, D. C. was surrounded on all sides by slave states. By 1865 sixty-eight earthen forts surrounding and protecting the capital had been constructed. Thirty-two of the forts ringed the city. Another 33 were in Virginia, including Fairfax County. Five were in Montgomery County, MD along the district's northwestern border with two additional Maryland forts bordering the city.

Nearby hospitals and settlements sprang up. Many housed the contrabands of war. Mostly, freed men and women settled in and around the neighborhoods of the old forts and Civil War defenses that had been vacated between 1865 and 1866. The forts, which attracted many freedom seekers who had escaped slavery in Virginia, Maryland, and other nearby states, employed many free Blacks and escapees.[69]

---

68 Civil War Defenses of Washington: Maryland, Virginia, Washington D.C., Map, National Park Service, 2010, accessed January 26, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3851r.ct004863/?r=0.536,0.186,0.25,0.107,0; James, "The Most Pleasant," 32-33.

69 James, "The Most Pleasant," 32-33.

Some of the newly emancipated in the District area erected settlements which later became the foundation for African American neighborhoods. The local census of 1867 indicated that two-thirds of Black Washingtonians and half of all white residents had migrated to the District after 1860. During and directly after the war, about 30,000 African Americans migrated to the District.[70] The combination of a large, pre-existing free Black class and a burgeoning class of newly freed people comprised a dynamic mix that stood sentinel over the enactment of congressional and constitutional rights.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS (THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU)

From the start, the Bureau faced resistance from a variety of sources, including many White Southerners in the NCA and beyond. President Andrew Johnson, a formidable leading opponent, assumed the presidency in April 1865 in the aftershock of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Less than a year later, Congress introduced a bill seeking to extend the Bureau's existence and impart new legal powers. Johnson vetoed the proposed legislation using what had become a familiar argument, that it interfered with states' constitutional rights, favored one group of citizens before another, among other issues. Overruling the veto in July 1866, Congress sanctioned a revised version of the bill.

All of this had repercussions for the Freedmen's Bureau when Johnson engaged in an acrimonious fight with the Radical Republicans in Congress who thought the president's Reconstruction policies were not tough enough. In addition to pardoning many former Confederates, and restoring their land, Johnson eliminated Bureau employees he considered too sympathetic to Blacks, which undermined both the authority and the purpose of the Bureau. Above all, the Freedmen's Bureau legislation was designed to provide basic health and educational services to the newly freed, and to administer abandoned land in the South. However, a lack of clarity and vision not only among supporters in Congress but also inside the Bureau over the type of assistance to be provided the freedmen and women and for how long, fostered deeper divisions and muddled the agency's mission.[71]

---

70 Civil War Defenses of Washington, Historic Resources Study, NPS, accessed January 26, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/civilwar/hrs2-2.htm; Carl Abbott, Political Terrain: Washington, D. C., From Tidewater Town to Global Metropolis (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.)

71 Freedmen's Bureau, History.com, A&E Television Networks, June 1, 2010, accessed February 14, 2019, https://www.history.com/topics/Black-history/freedmens-bureau.

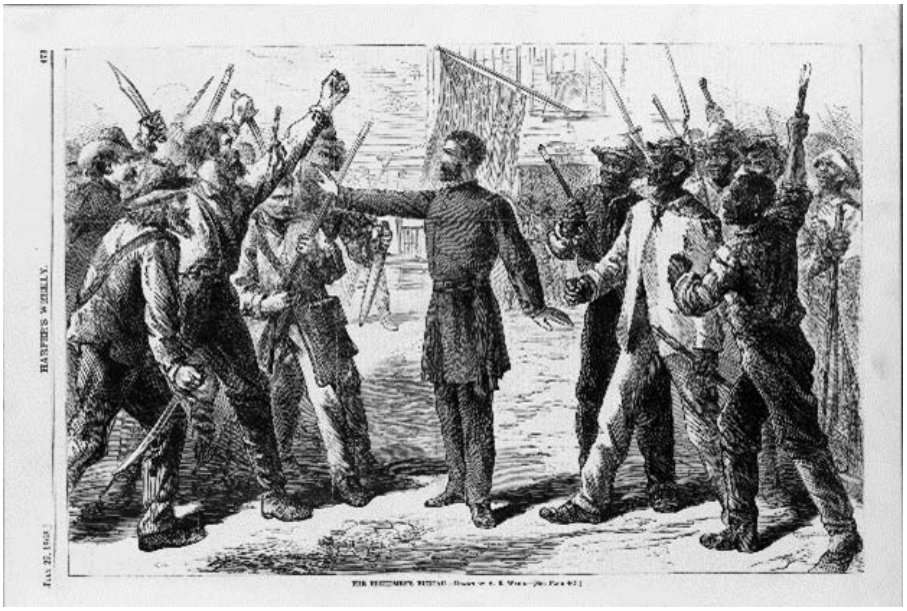


Figure 2. A soldier representing the Freedmen's Bureau fending off racial strife in Virginia. *Harpers Weekly*, 1868 July 25, 473, Library of Congress.

The Freedman's Bureau was established two months before Lee surrendered at Appomattox. One historian observed, the new freedmen often went to cities because they perceived that "the reassuring presence of either Union troops or Freedmen's Bureau Officials . . . guaranteed their safety from violence." On the other hand, troops and Bureau officials attempted to rid urban centers of the large numbers of those escaping slavery as well as the newly freed men and women flooding the city and "extended to them no unusual blanket of protection."[72]

As will be discussed in later chapters, education may have been the Bureau's most significant long-term effect. In league with African American community members, Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church and other religious organizations such as the New England-based Free Will Baptists, the Bureau brought northern educational systems into the new schools they sponsored. Together, they helped plant free schools and training schools, seminaries, colleges, and universities.[73]

The Bureau was influential in building thousands of schools for African Americans, including help in founding Howard University in Washington, D.C. The agency supported several schoolhouses throughout the NCA. One month after

[72] Brett R. Roach, "Prejudice Against Blacks Freed in Post-Civil War Washington," *Negro History Bulletin* Vol. 48, No 1 (Jan. Feb. Mar. 1985), 3-6, 3.

[73] Thomas H. Pearne, "Methodist Freedmen's Bureau," *Christian Advocate*, May 21, 1874; 49, 21; American Periodicals,161, accessed March 17, 2021, file:///C:/Users/Owner/Documents/Reconstruction%20final%20docs/methodist%20&%20freedbureau21.pdf.

the war ended the Freedmen's Bureau established headquarters in Leesburg and Middleburg, in Loudoun County, in March 1865. The Bureau established a school at Middleburg, and one across the road from present Asbury Methodist Church, near Hillsboro. Freedmen's Bureau schools were opened at Lincoln (Janney's School), and Waterford. Two schools were established in Leesburg: "the African School," probably at the Northern Methodist Church, and Bailey's School, on South King Street. The first known local Black teacher was the Reverend William L. Robey, at Leesburg's African School. *The Washingtonian* on June 22, 1866 stated: "William Robey has for more than a year past been teaching many freed boys and girls, and I think with considerable success."[74] The Freedmen's Bureau built a school for $150 "to be used for the education of the colored youth of Willisville and for church purposes on Sabbath Day." This first public school for Blacks in southwest Loudoun was completed the following year. The church's successor became Willisville Methodist Chapel.

During its years of operation, the Freedmen's Bureau fed millions of people, built hospitals and provided medical aid, negotiated labor contracts for ex-slaves and settled labor disputes. Three major hospitals served the area, Freedman's Hospital in Washington, the United States Army Hospital for Contrabands, Alexandria, commonly known as Contraband Hospital,[75] and Abbott Hospital in Freedman's Village. Alexandria had 100 beds and Washington had a 200-bed facility. A smallpox outbreak immediately following the opening of the Contraband hospital got the hospital off to a very hectic start.

In June 1872, six years beyond the Bureau's intended life, Congress voted to shut down the Freedmen's Bureau by the end of that month. Many of the Freedmen's Bureau schools later became public schools.

THE VIRGINIA COUNTIES IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA: A THRIVING FREEDOM IN THE SHADOW OF THE CONFEDERACY

As a slave-holding county prior to the Civil War, Fairfax County was immediately occupied by the Union Forces upon secession and defensive forts constructed – some on former plantation lands. This in turn attracted many contrabands seeking safety and refuge from enslavement. In 1863-1864, the government created five camps in present-day Arlington and Fairfax: Camp Springdale, Camp Todd, Camp Rucker, Camp Wadsworth and Camp Beckwith.[76] Around the same time, the gov-

[74] Eugene Scheel, "Timeline of Important Events in African American History in Loudoun County, Virginia," accessed March 20, 2021, http://www.loudounhistory.org/history/African American-chronology/.

[75] Also known as Bigelow's Hospital.

[76] Contraband Camps in Northern Virginia, Boundary Stones, WETA, accessed December 27, 2020, https://boundarystones.weta.org/2015/04/07/contraband-camps-northern-virginia.

ernment also created Freedman's Village, the well-known refugee camp on Robert E. Lee's former Arlington Estate. During Reconstruction Alexandria County was marked by the thriving resettlement camp.

Figure 3. Freedman's Village, Arlington, Virginia, *Harpers Weekly*, May 1864. Courtesy of Library of Congress

FREEDMAN'S VILLAGE

Initially the contrabands joined free Blacks and were housed in several camps, including one in the Old U.S. Capitol, but because of poor living conditions, including overcrowding and rapid spread of smallpox and other diseases, it became necessary to shift locations. On May 5, 1863, anxious to remove this population from the District, Lieutenant Colonel Elias M. Greene and Danforth B. Nichols of the American Missionary Association, selected Arlington Plantation, overlooking the Potomac River and Washington, DC, and owned by the Custis family and the Robert E. Lee family, as the site for a model community for newly freed men and women.

Freedman's Village was established on the Arlington Estate one month later, as a camp for Civil War contrabands. The location satisfied the government's desire to remove the once enslaved from the city of Washington and to serve as a symbol. By June 1863, 100 new freedmen and women had settled on a "fine plateau on the top of a hill on the Arlington Estate." Formally dedicated in December that year, Freedman's Village began as little more than a tent camp and grew into a community not only for refugees, but also for many people who had once been enslaved at Arlington plantation. From this favorable location, the freed men could rely on a fairly consistent military presence that prevented the pervasive slave-catching and re-enslavement that freedpeople in less secure areas were experiencing. Freedman's Village was run by the Freedman's Bureau during most of its early existence. Initially, the Bureau endorsed Freedman's Village as a way to provide a home, education and training for the newly freed.

Dozens of destitute Washington wives of Black soldiers alongside military laborers also sought and gained admission to Freedman's Village throughout the war. [77] The constant quest for the labor of the abled-bodied men of the Village meant that as the war proceeded, "Freedmen's Village essentially became a refuge for elderly men, children, and women who were deemed unfit for military service and labor. By 1865, women constituted over 75 percent of the Village's 'able-bodied' population." The people coming in from the District compromised the previously healthy physical conditions at Freedmen's Village. "Since the original Villagers occupied the coveted cabins, military officials initially housed the Washington newcomers in crowded outdoor tents that lacked sufficient bedding material and blankets."[78]

The burgeoning population of freedpeople from the District also produced an important shift in Village labor policy. The Village was unable to accommodate the expanding influx of people. As a remedy, military supervisors decided to move away from the original vision of Freedmen's Village as a profitable experiment realized through controlled agricultural labor. Instead, they redirected their intentions for the Village toward a temporary waystation where private employers could contractually bound out potential laborers and domestic servants. The Bureau would accelerate this labor policy after 1865 but first committed to the practice during the wartime administration.[79]

In addition to providing and subsidizing Army rations for the villagers, local farm workers grew wheat, corn, potatoes and other vegetables to sell for profit. Equally as important, the Bureau helped freemen and women legalize marriages, locate lost relatives, and assist Black veterans. Churches were also summoned to augment the work of the Bureau. Baptist and Methodist churches in the area, as well as a church in the Village ministered to the spiritual needs of Village residents.

Achievements varied by place and according to leadership but the steady inflow of freedmen and women into Freedman's Village, many of whom were ill or malnourished, required action and medical attention. The largest single transfer of people into the Village involved the freedpeople at Camp Barker. Ill and impoverished, they arrived at the Village in January of 1864 in "a most destitute and uncleanly condition," looking "shamelessly wretched," with many residents

77 Ira Berlin, Steven F. Miller, Joseph Reidy and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: Volume 2, Series 1: The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Upper South* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 317; Zachary C. Lowe, "Meanings of Freedom: Virginia Contraband Settlements and Wartime Reconstruction," Master's Thesis, Arts & Sciences, College of William & Mary, 2003, accessed March 17, 2021, https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6418&context=etd.

78 Lowe, "Meanings of Freedom," 25-6.

79 Ibid.

"fatally ill with small pox."[80] Provisions were made for the aged and infirmed who were unable to care for themselves.

Abbott Hospital and Home for the Indigent created in 1866 had fifty beds to help attend to the multiple health needs of the freedmen and women. Outbreaks of scarlet fever, measles, and whooping cough were especially high among children at Abbott. Although the average death rate was two per day at Abbott, it was lower than the five-per-day average Washington, D.C. was experiencing.[81]

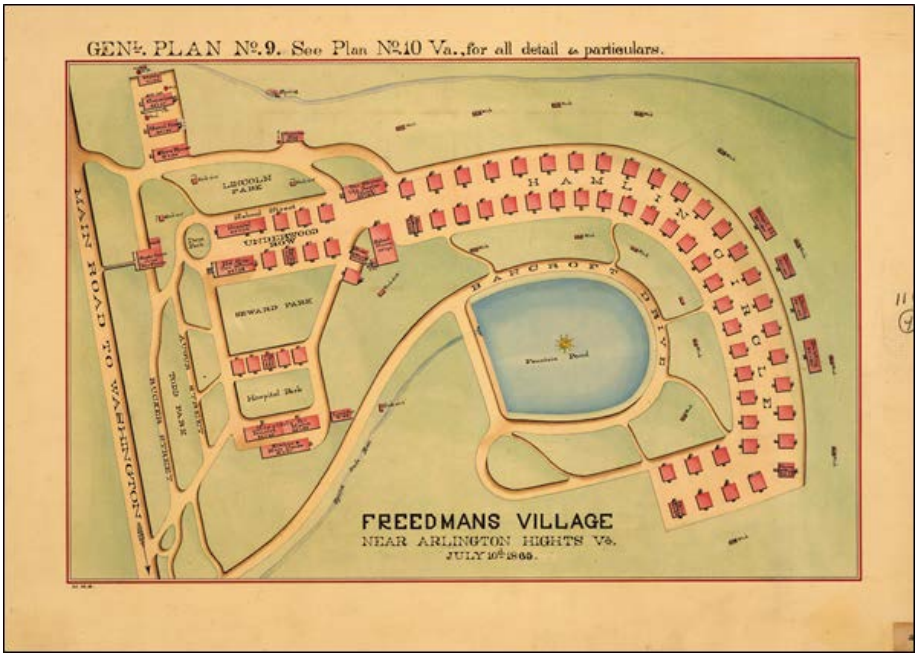


Figure 4. **Freedman's Village near Arlington Heights, Virginia, July 10th, 1865. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.**

By June 1864, with the Civil War raging on, a camp for refugee was opened on Mason's Island (now Roosevelt Island), located in the Potomac River between Washington D.C. and Arlington VA. As the incoming wave of freedpeople led to over-crowding in the Village, hundreds of Arlington Villagers were moved to the separate settlement on the nearby island.[82] With this recently vacated military camp, the barracks could be used to house freedpeople, Proximity to the city was intended to help refugees more readily find employment. The new location was

[80] Letter forwarded by Maryland Governor Thomas Hicks to Hon. S. Cameron, November 18, 1861, RG 107, NA as cited in Lowe, "Meanings of Freedom," 25.

[81] Report to the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 728; Ric Murphey and Tim Stephens, *Section 27 and Freedman's Village: The African American History of America's Most Hallowed Ground* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2020; Freedman's Village - Arlington National Cemetery, accessed February 15, 2019, http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/freedman.htm.

[82] Also known as Analostan Island.

transformed into a temporary holding ground for those Villagers most likely to be hired by private employers who frequented the island in search of laborers.[83]

In comparison to Freedman's Village, conditions at Mason's Island were quite appalling. Freedpeople were housed in unsanitary living conditions and crowded into military barracks. Most Mason Island's Black apprentices and farmers were contracted out to local Maryland and Virginia planters who could travel to the small island and have their pick among available contrabands living there, often with disastrous, sometimes violent results. Freedpeople were usually forced to sign restrictive one-year contracts which rarely offered fair compensation for their labors. Although Mason's Island operated for a little more than a year before closing in June 1865, thousands of freed men and women passed through the camp.[84]

Freedman's Village consisted of approximately fifty frame dwellings each divided down the middle for occupancy by two families, a hospital, a home for the indigent, a school and a chapel. As the community grew, the village was able to provide housing, education, training for employment skills, church services, medical care and food for the former slaves. The camp's grounds included an industrial school, a hospital, a home for the aged, churches, and several schools for children.[85]
The Village "had one of the first thoroughly systematic and genuine contraband schools . . .within the sight of the national Capitol." Built by the American Tract Society, at the peak of attendance, the spacious school housed primary and secondary classes averaging about 99 students per day in the primary classes and 144 students per day in the secondary classes.[86]

Although it was not the first example of this type of settlement, the Village was intended as a model camp and it attracted widespread attention because of its accessibility to Washington, D.C. It did not, however, live up to the vision and, according to one researcher, "was never an idyllic free labor paradise" it was intended to be.[87] Freedman's Village consisted of over one hundred buildings, many of which housed two or more families. It was visited by dignitaries, government officials, and prominent public figures. For example, Sojourner Truth, the renowned Black abolitionist, civil and woman's rights activist, teacher and reformer, stayed at the Village in 1864 where she nursed and taught domestic skills. Additionally, Truth

83 "Historic American Landscapes Survey DC-12: Theodore Roosevelt Island" (Washington, D.C.: National Parks Service, 2007).
84 Lowe, "Meanings of Freedom," 7, 26.
85 "A Guide to the African American Heritage of Arlington County, Virginia," Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, Second Edition 2016, https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.pdf.
86 Ibid.
87 Lowe, "Meanings of Freedom," 29.

assisted residents in asserting their civil rights. She also collected money from the residents of the Village to start Freedman's Hospital in Washington, D.C.[88]

Although the camp was established to provide temporary refuge for the newly freed, the shelter endured for more than thirty years. The Village had been a self-governing enclave that for decades resisted encroachment and efforts to eliminate it as a community. As early as 1867, population at the Village began to dwindle. As the Freedmen's Bureau neared its own demise, the government sought to entirely dismantle the Village, threatening to sell the buildings and evict the remaining leaseholders and their families. In line with their continuing quest for meaningful land ownership, these freedpeople appealed for a delay. Eventually they convinced federal officials to extend their leases for an additional two years with those leases finally expiring in 1870. Although the government refused lease renewal, the freedpeople were allowed to remain settled on the Arlington estate if they did not seek title to the land. Under these conditions, Village residents were allowed to remain until the early 1880s. After the government was sued by Robert E. Lee's heir, Custis Lee, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered Freedman's Village closed in 1882. The federal government obtained the rights to the Custis estate, and the land given to the military; the civilians at Freedman's Village were expected to leave. By December 7, 1887, the people at the village had been given 90 days to depart.[89] The school closed with the disbanding of the Village and, after decades of trying, the government permanently closed and leveled the Village in the 1890s.[90]

Those efforts to close the Village served as a prelude to the tragedy of the Jim Crow era that was to follow. In 1900, federal officials awarded reparations of $75,000 to the former residents of Freedman's Village or their heirs and federal officials transferred the land to the Department of Agriculture.[91] Many former residents found homes in other Arlington neighborhoods such as Hall's Hill and Nauck. The exact location of Freedman's Village is not known, but generally it is believed to have been in what is now the southern section of Arlington National Cemetery, Sections 8, 47 and 25, along Eisenhower Drive.

---

88 Nell Irvin Painter, "Sojourner Truth (1799-1883)" in *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia, Vol. II*. Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), pp. 1172-1176; *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*, Library of Congress, accessed September 26, 2019, https://www.loc.gov/resource/lhbum.25244/?sp=3&st=gallery.

89 "Arlington National Cemetery: Where Valor Proudly Sleeps," accessed September 30, 2019, http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/freedman.htm.

90 See Reidy, "Freedmen's Village," *Washington Post*, December 7, 1887; *New York Herald*, December 7, 1887.

91 Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial, Freedman's Village, NPS, https://www.nps.gov/arho/learn/historyculture/emancipation.htm; Freedman's Village Facts, American History Central, accessed January 27, 2021, https://www.americanhistorycentral.com/entries/freedmans-village-facts/.

CONTRABANDS AND FREEDMEN CEMETERY, ALEXANDRIA

The urban center of Alexandria became a magnet not only for self-freed but also for philanthropists, Black and White, seeking to set the foundation for new communities and institutions. These efforts included the establishment of several schools, but also the demand for rights as free people including the right of Black soldiers to be buried in cemeteries reserved for white soldiers and the right to hold office.

Disease, hunger and unhealthy conditions also plagued people of color in their new-found freedom. The population fleeing to Alexandria during the Union occupation included many who were destitute, malnourished and in poor health. Upon arriving in Alexandria, the contrabands were housed in barracks and other hastily assembled, poorly constructed living spaces. Smallpox and typhoid outbreaks resulted from such tight living conditions and poor sanitation. Death was common. By February 1864, following the deaths of hundreds of contrabands and freedmen, a parcel of undeveloped land at the corner of South Washington and Church Streets seized from a pro-Confederate owner was used as a cemetery specifically for burial of contrabands. Burials started one month later, in March.[92]

Black soldiers in Alexandria were buried at Contrabands & Freedmen Cemetery. Each grave was identified with a whitewashed, wooden grave marker. In 1868, after Congress ended most activities of the Freedmen's Bureau, the cemetery was also closed. During the five years of operation, about 1800 contrabands and freedmen had been buried in the graveyard.

Convalescent soldiers at L'Ouverture Hospital protested the unpatriotic burial practices. In response to their letter asking, "that our bodies may find a resting place in the ground designated for the burial of the brave defenders of our countries flag . . .," the soldiers gained the right to be buried in Soldiers' Cemetery, now the Alexandria National Cemetery.[93]

Following the widespread practice in other parts of the former confederacy, the cemetery property was returned to the original owners, usually slaveholders. After years of neglect, and grave-rotted markers, the property changed hands several time and was eventually redeveloped for commercial use. The Contrabands and Freedman Cemetery at 1001 S. Washington St. in Alexandria, Virginia was listed

92 Alexandria's Freedmen's Cemetery, accessed July 10, 2019, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/ContrabandsCemeteryHistoricalOverview.pdf.

93 "The Civil War," History of Alexandria's African American Community, City of Alexandria, Virginia, accessed January 27, 2021, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/blackhistory/default.aspx?id=37214.

on the National Register of Historic Places on August 15, 2012 and became a memorial and historic site in 2014.[94]

ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY

In 1864, The United States Army appropriated 200 acres of Robert E. Lee's Arlington Plantation estate for National Cemetery. More than sixteen-thousand Civil War soldiers are buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Among those buried in sections 27 and 23 are 1,500 African American soldiers designated by the U. S. government as U.S. Colored Troops (USCT). These African American soldiers served in segregated U.S. Army regiments during the war. Their headstones can be recognized by the Civil War shield and the letters U.S.C.T.[95]

In addition to its primary purpose, the cemetery offered interment to impoverished African Americans. Between 1864 and 1867, at least 3,235 freedmen or contrabands were buried in present-day Section 27; their headstones are marked with "Civilian" or "Citizen." Over 3,800 Freedmen who were residents of other Civil War camps or villages in the area or who were employed in other capacities by the U.S. government during the war were buried at Arlington. By the end of the Civil War, 404 African American soldiers in the USCT were buried in the cemetery.[96]

Many of Arlington National Cemetery's first graves were dug by James Parks. Parks, the son of hand. During the Civil War, he built fortifications, resided at Freedman's Village, and dug graves for the government after the establishment of Arlington National Cemetery on his former enslaver's estate. James Park is the only known person buried in Arlington National Cemetery who was born on the property.[97]

WEST VIRGINIA, THE NEWEST UNION STATE

In 1865, the new border state of West Virginia adopted emancipation by state legislation. The state revealed its ambivalence toward the new freedman through its hesitation to press beyond emancipation. On March 23, 1869, the legislature ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, granting the right to vote to African American men by a narrow margin.[98] For the state as

94 Ibid; "Contrabands and Freedmen's Cemetery," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, accessed July 10, 2019, https://dockets.alexandriava.gov/icons/PZ/BAR/ohad/cy12/060612/di09.PDF.

95 Arlington National Cemetery, "Facts about Section 27," accessed December 27, 2020, https://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/Explore/Notable-Graves/Section-27.

96 Ibid.

97 "A Guide to African American Heritage of Arlington County, Virginia," Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.pdf; Parks' headstone is located at Section 15E, Grave 2.

98 Stephen D. Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction: Blacks in the political Reconstruction of

a whole, West Virginia Republicans challenged serious consideration of Black suffrage before ratification of the Fifteenth amendment in 1870. West Virginia's constitutional convention of 1872 guaranteed the vote but at the same time, it also approved a segregationist clause for schools.[99]

Jefferson County of the new State of West Virginia at the close of the Civil War had been marked by the battles and occupying armies. Harpers Ferry, it was said, "had only war riddled buildings and ruins everywhere. Not a tree or fence left. Nearby were three hundred rude soldiers' graves."[100]

The state placed a greater emphasis on funding White schools than it did Black schools. Blacks were instrumental in creating schools but the Freedmen's Bureau, the AMA, others, and especially the Freewill Baptists of Maine were very involved in creating schools in Jefferson County and elsewhere in WV. Reflecting the near universal concern for education that reverberated across the NCA during the Reconstruction Era, Storer College, a historically Black college, opened in Harpers Ferry in 1867.[101]

MARYLAND COUNTIES IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA: RESISTANCE TO THE SPIRIT OF RECONSTRUCTION

Maryland has always been considered middle ground. Its ambiguous status as a slave holding, non-confederate border state reinforced that perception. Very much driven and divided by local concerns within the state, Maryland did not secede from the Union during the Civil War. As a border state, federal Reconstruction largely did not apply to Maryland although it did have an impact in terms of education. Since the state was not under federal jurisdiction, one historian observed that Maryland entered a period of "self-reconstruction during the years 1864-1867."[102] Statewide Reconstruction gave African Americans more autonomy over their families, political rights, education and institutions.

In 1862, the Maryland General Assembly passed a law that took a hard stand against "vagrants" and free Blacks. The law called for a fine or for enslavement of any free Black who entered the state.[103] The third Maryland state constitution,

West Virginia." The Journal of Negro History, vol. 78, no. 3, 1993, 137.

99 WV Const. ratified 1872, art. XII, § 8, accessed January 30, 2021, http://www.wvlegislature.gov/educational/publications/Manual_PDF/13-WV_State_Constitution.pdf.

100 Sharon D. Kennedy-Nolle, *Writing Reconstruction: Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the Postwar South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 128.

101 West Virginia State Archives, A Brief History of African Americans in West Virginia, accessed September 17, 2019, http://www.wvculture.org/history/archives/Blacks/blachist.html.

102 William Starr Myers, "The Self-Reconstruction of Maryland, 1864-1867," John Hopkins University Studies on Historical and Political Science, Series XXVII, Nos. 1-2, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1909).

103 Laws of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1862, Ch. 96; W. A. Low, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights in Maryland," The Journal of Negro History, Vol. 37, No. 3 (July 1952),

which abolished slavery in the state but reserved suffrage as the privilege of white men, received approval by a small margin of voters on September 18, 1864, and took effect November 1, 1864. One historian observed that the freedom granted in the Constitution was actually an "empty legal expression" designed to bind young African American "orphans" into "virtual slavery" through the apprenticeship system.[104]

White Marylanders in counties inside and outside the Area including Baltimore County and some of the western Maryland Counties resisted the spirit of Reconstruction especially as it applied to formerly enslaved. Prince George's County, with its labor-dependent economy, heavily participated in the apprenticeship system and committed numerous violations against its Black citizens. Black children were being bound out to their former enslavers for indefinite periods of time, often with the help of Maryland government officials. A manipulation of the state's apprenticeship laws was among the attempts by former slaveholders, with the help of local sheriffs and magistrates, to force unpaid or low paying labor from the newly emancipated citizens. While White laborers saw enslavement as reducing the value of their labor, they were unprepared for competition from an emancipated labor force. The apprenticeship system as it operated in Maryland was an impediment to civil rights and a great denial of human rights for newly freed African Americans in the state.[105]

Military intervention in the elections of 1864 and the resultant constitutional convention abolished slavery in the state. "Within days of emancipation, planters seized the labor of some 3,000 Black minors under the provisions of an unrepealed section of the state's Black code." Objecting vigorously, freed parents sought the special protection of the United States Army, and enlisted the Freedmen's Bureau, the courts, and prominent Maryland Radicals to win eventual control of their children.[106] One army commanding officer observed that in Maryland at the time of Emancipation, "apprenticeship was a deliberate ploy," one intent on "obstructing the operation, and nullifying. . .the emancipation provision of the New Constitution.[107] One Bureau official stated that at Annapolis, which was un-

221-247, 231, accessed July 29, 2019, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2715492.

104 Low, "The Freedmen's Bureau," 221-247, 231.

105 Records of the Field Offices for Maryland and Delaware, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, National Museum of African American History and Culture, Smithsonian Institution, accessed September 25, 2019, https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/sova_nmaahc.fb.m1906; Floyd, Bianca P. *Records & Recollections: Early Black History in Prince George's County, Maryland*, The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1989; William Starr Myers, *The Self-Reconstruction of Maryland 1864-1867* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1909), accessed September 19, 2019, https://archive.org/details/selfreconstructi00myer/page/n8.

106 Richard Paul Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor: The Black Family under Pressure in Post-Emancipation Maryland," *Agricultural History*, vol. 62, no. 4, 1988, 58. Accessed July 17, 2019, *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3743375.

107 Ibid., p. 71.

der the jurisdiction of the Washington District, about 2000 complaints were made by parents of apprenticed youth during the 1866-67 year.[108]

As Fuke explained, "In the months after emancipation, Black Marylanders sought to fashion a world more to their liking than that of slavery," even as aspirants were urged to "remain responsibly modest." Just as slavery had routinely torn the Black family asunder, Maryland's apprenticeship system was the latest design to tear at the cohesive fabric of family and freedom. Freedmen and women were intent on wresting control of their children and the labor they represented away from county orphan courts. These parents needed their children's labor to help the family make a living. One Prince George's County mother, seeking help in retrieving her son, wrote to a U. S. Army General, "I am very anxious to get him for he would be a great help to me."[109] Others, such as Jordan Diggs of the county, entered into contracts on behalf of their children and relatives. By November 1864, former Prince George's County slaveholders held a public meeting advocating and promoting the one-year contract and a uniform wage scale that provided "for little more than minimal necessities."[110]

Such maneuvers were quickly countermanded by the success of the conservatives in calling for a new convention in 1867 which reintroduced repressive measures against the Black population. From 1864 to 1867, anti-slavery laws could be circumvented by "proving" African American parents unfit to care for their children, forcing children out of the care of their families to serve as apprentices.[111] Slavery had always been about enslavement and forced labor of the young.

Through constant pressure on the part of Black parents to retrieve their children, legal maneuvers and court cases, and the efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau, the practice, which was both condemned and condoned by the state, was finally defeated. With the 1867 constitution, fearful Maryland Democrats barred Black men from voting, but it also delivered a "death blow," through a prohibitory clause, to the system of apprenticeship.[112] By the summer of 1868, armed with a court decision, the Freedmen's Bureau forced reluctant former slaveholders and planters to release most of their apprentices. Most Maryland planters and rural whites simply refused to adjust their pre-Civil War racial attitudes. Even after Blacks won control over the apprenticeship system, Maryland whites maintained tight control over

108 Low, "The Freedmen's Bureau"
109 Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor," 67.
110 Ibid., 59, 69.
111 Clara H. Vaughn, "Historical Society Offers Glimpse of African Americans during Reconstruction," Baltimore Sun, March 12, 2012, accessed July 2, 2019, https://www.baltimoresun.com/ph-ll-lhs-freedom-0315-20120312-story.html.
112 Charles Lewis Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862-1864* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004), 265.

other aspects of the wage contract labor system. The Freedmen's Bureau, too, worked to control Black labor. Maryland also voted against passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Despite the best efforts of the new citizens, job opportunities remained limited and traditional.

Perhaps among the most resistant to Reconstruction of all Maryland counties in the NCA were White Prince Georgians. As the state's wealthiest tobacco county, they had grown fat off the riches and luxury wrought by enslaved labor and fought the loyalty requirements. In the ratification of a new constitution that promised emancipation, the County cast no votes in favor. Outside of the Eastern Shore, Prince George's County was easily one of the most repressive governments pertaining to slavery, emancipation, and treatment of the freedmen and women within the State of Maryland. However, Reconstruction forged resolve among the newly freed who chose to stay or return to the county following the end of the Civil War. Their institutions and communities thrived.

The extensive slaveholding practices of Prince George's County had an impact on how the county experienced the years immediately following the Civil War and the Reconstruction period. Prior to 1864/1865, the economy of Prince George's County was based on plantations where slave labor accounted for more than half the population. At the opening of the post-Civil War era, a little more than 23,000 individuals lived in Prince George's County, more than half of which were primarily enslaved African Americans. This system had created wealth in the slave-holding states, including Maryland, and a similar trend is evident for Prince George's County. For instance, the value of slaves in the slave-holding states rose from $291 million in 1805 to $3 billion in 1860.[113] Concurrently, Maryland had the highest number of free Blacks of any state during this period and Prince George's County had the largest number of slaves of all the counties. By the start of the Civil War the county had the fewest free Blacks. This free Black population was chiefly concentrated around Upper Marlboro.

Before the Civil War, newspapers in Prince George's County ran twenty-two percent of all notices for escaping slaves, more than any other county in Maryland. The proximity of the area to Washington, D.C. provided relative ease of access, which helped facilitate a significant number of Underground Railroad participants. As with most pre-Civil War findings, Blacks nearby and in the District

[113] The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, *Postbellum Archeological Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland A Historic Context and Research Guide, 2010*, page 7-8, 10, accessed July 18, 2020, http://mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/BookDetail.cfm?item_id=217&Category_id=3.

probably supported the enslaved from Prince George's County in their quest for freedom. [114]

Nearly 87,000 enslaved African Americans lived in Maryland in 1860, compared with about 84,000 "free colored persons." In Prince George's County, however, there were approximately 12,500 enslaved laborers, in contrast with a mere 1,200 free-born Blacks. The 1870 census revealed that although the population of White residents rose by nearly 2,000 in that decade, the African American population shrank by almost 4,000. The decrease can be accounted for, in part, because new freedmen and women migrated to Washington, D.C., Baltimore and other urban communities in the South. Between 1870 and 1900, the population of White residents in Prince George's County rose between ten and twenty percent per decade from 1870 through 1900.[115]

No longer able to rely on enslaved labor, Southern Maryland, including Prince George's County, suffered critical shortages of labor. In the years following the war, wages for farm work rose sharply. Prince George's County, however, was not quick to urbanize until the end of the nineteenth century. Labor unions began to ascend during this period but, lacking an industrial base, unionization was negligible in Prince George's County. The county clung to its rural, agricultural economy. The price of tobacco, the principal cash crop of Prince George's County, which had started to decline in the world market before the Civil War, plummeted after the war.[116]

In the county adjacent to Prince George's County, African American men and women lived, worked, prayed, and died in the area that was to become Montgomery County before it was formed in 1776. Since Maryland remained loyal to the Union, Montgomery County did not undergo as many of the problems experienced in Virginia and other southern states during Reconstruction. When county Blacks did encounter problems, they could turn to the Freedmen's Bureau for some support. The precedent setting case, *State of Maryland vs. A. H. Somers*, was one of the first test cases before the Maryland Court of Appeals that advocated accepting the testimony of African Americans. This was the first victory for the Bureau which had initiated the legal action in Montgomery County.[117]

---

114 Maryland State Archives 2007: The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, *Postbellum Archeological Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland A Historic Context and Research Guide*, 2010, 13, accessed July 18, 2020, http://mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/BookDetail.cfm?item_id=217&Category_id=3.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid.

117 Low, "The Freedmen's Bureau."

The largest settlement of free Blacks was in Sandy Spring, where many Quakers had manumitted their enslaved workers and in 1822 conveyed land to them for a church. After freedom came to Maryland's enslaved laborers in 1864, they focused on self-sufficiency and community building. In the next half-century, African Americans established forty settlements throughout the county. The church, typically the first and most important institution, served first as a religious center but also as a schoolhouse and meeting place for civic and social engagement. Maryland passed a state law mandating segregation in 1872. Despite strong opposition from some Maryland citizens, the County established its first free schools for African American children. During the century of entrenched segregation—the mid-1860s through the mid-1960s—education occupied the first civil rights arena.[118]

Between the twenty-five-year period between 1870 and 1895, Montgomery County reflected national attitudes of materialism and pro-business sentiment. The steady rise of railroads and telegraphs, electric service and towns were the result. Great Falls, for example, developed as a source of waterpower during this period. The Metropolitan branch of the Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) railroad which opened in 1873 introduced passenger rail service to the county and enhanced the county's economy. As farming declined in importance, proximity to Washington took on greater importance as the District became central to the county's development.[119]

Frederick County extending to the north to the Pennsylvania border, had been occupied by both Union and Confederate forces during the Civil War and incurred significant damage, through battles but also through damaging behavior of troublemakers of both armies. As the Freedmen's Bureau came into Frederick in the wake of the War, African American leaders such as AME minister (and later Bishop), Rev. Benjamin T. Tanner, asserted growing authority and continual leadership. Tanner had served briefly as pastor of Frederick's Quinn Chapel in 1866 and returned to the city to take charge as principal of the A.M.E. conference school in Quinn Chapel, a Freedmen's Bureau School. Tanner helped in organizing the Bureau's common school in Frederick, known as "Bethel School," and served as its president in 1867 and 1868.[120]

118 "History of African American Education in Montgomery County," Montgomery History, https://montgomeryhistory.org/history-of-African American-education-in-moco/, accessed January 30, 2021; Community Cornerstones, Heritage Montgomery, accessed July 23, 2019, https://www.heritagemontgomery.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/community-cornerstones-brochure.pdf.

119 Montgomery County, Maryland: Our History and Government, Montgomery County Government, 1999, accessed June 20, 2021, https://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/cct/Resources/files/history.pdf.

120 William Seraile, Fire in His Heart (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998); Quinn A.M.E. Church (African Methodist Episcopal), Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey FHD-822, No. 8 P. 2-3, accessed June 20, 2021, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Frederick/FHD-822.pdf.

In spite of lynchings and other acts of overt and not so obvious terrorism against them, African Americans of Frederick County built new communities such as Bartonsville and openly celebrated Emancipation. By 1895, thirty-seven percent of all Blacks over the age of ten were unable to read or write, making the establishment of schools critical to the economic and political survival of the county's Black population.[121]

Washington County is situated between the free state of Pennsylvania at its northern boundary and slave state of Virginia, the bordering counties becoming part of West Virginia in 1863—to the south. During the years slavery was enforced, the narrow Western boundaries at Hancock and Williamsport provided accessible escape routes from slavery from Virginia and Maryland into Pennsylvania. A concentration of numerous slave markets in the county and a considerable presence of slave catchers directly confronted Washington County residents with issues pertaining to slavery and later the state's rights battles that gripped the nation at the time of emancipation.[122] Most notable among Washington County's historic sites is Antietam National Battlefield. Residents in the war-torn countryside of Washington County struggled to recover from invading armies. In addition to repairing the physical landscape, issues of the economy and employment were pressing.

Legally, Reconstruction sought primarily to unify the states with the Federal government. Its impact was also a direct mandate or directive to the South, and the country at large. Pushing the nation to handle and address race going forward, the government became both motivator and obstructor in forcing the ideals of race, citizenship, equality and freedom into the nation's consciousness and actions. The response to the Reconstruction efforts, in particular about the newly freed and their new-found rights and the institutions they established, reveal a glimpse into the deeper interweaving of these elements. It brought to the forefront how this country held power and the perceived threat to that power which spawned an underlying reliance on intimidation and violence in reaction to African American progress and growing capacity.

121 WPA, *Maryland: A Guide to the Old Line State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 103-04.

122 "Slaves and Free African Americans, Reports and opinions from the newspapers of Hagerstown, Washington County, and Cumberland, Allegany County, Maryland, 1790 to 1864," Western Maryland's Historical Library, accessed September 27, 2019, http://www.whilbr.org/WesternMDSlaves/index.aspx.

CHAPTER TWO: RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATION

INTRODUCTION

Legislation produced during the Reconstruction Era overshadowed all other forms of social and political reforms. The Civil War and the post-Civil War Reconstruction Eras were host to an array of legislation as the nation moved to first legislate slavery, then abolish it, then define and deny the rights of freedom for the nation's new African American citizens. Laws enacted during the Civil War laid the foundation for the Civil Rights legislations that followed during Reconstruction and again during the modern Civil Rights period. Much of the early legislation focused on the Confederate states and only affected Virginia in the NCA since Maryland was a border state and West Virginia came into the Union as a free state. However, the Reconstruction era legislation applied to all regions in the NCA.

The legal framework demonstrates the nation's incremental steps toward granting freedom and citizenship to African Americans and the attempts to legislate equality before the law, if not before man. First the build-up and then the steady erosion of civil rights for African Americans based in one law or act after another, laid bare America's tortured soul as it attempted and then failed to fulfill its democratic ideals. The legal enactments shaped the Era and laid the groundwork for the modern civil rights movement.

CIVIL WAR ERA LEGISLATION

FIRST CONFISCATION ACT OF AUGUST 6, 1861

The First Confiscation Act liberated anyone who was directly employed by the Confederate army. This act authorized Union forces to confiscate any Confederate property. In this case property also referred to land as well as any enslaved person who fought with, provided services to, or worked for the Confederate military. Union Civil War General Butler used this concept to claim that enslaved laborers who had escaped to or were seized by Union forces were declared contrabands of war. The contraband camps established mainly in Virginia and Washington, D. C. in the NCA stemmed from this initial decision.

THE ACT PROHIBITING THE RETURN OF SLAVES, MARCH 13, 1862

The United States Congress passed an additional article of war, The Act Prohibiting the Return of Slaves during the early Civil War. The Act forbade the military

from returning escapees from slavery to their former enslavers. This is the second within the series of laws that addressed the unanticipated consequences of freedom seekers escaping enslavement and seeking the protection of the Union forces in the United States Army as it entered southern states. The Act further defined the status of these freedom seekers and specified punishment for violating the law. By early July, the House of Representatives made it clear that "no part of the duty of the soldiers of the United States [was] to capture and return fugitive slaves."[123]

SECOND CONFISCATION ACT OF JULY 17, 1862

The Second Confiscation Act was a widespread emancipation that set free any enslaved people owned by any rebel anywhere, whether military or civilian. If the slaveholder did not surrender within 60 days of the act's passage, the people they held in slavery would be freed through criminal proceedings. However, this act was only applicable to Confederate areas that had already been occupied by the Union Army.

PROVISIONAL EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, SEPTEMBER 22, 1862

Five days after the Union victory at Antietam Creek in Washington County, MD, President Lincoln issued the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. The terms and conditions stated that if the Confederate States would return to the Union within 100 days, they could rejoin the Union and restore their constitutional relationship with the United States.

This preliminary Proclamation sought to restore the constitutional relationship between the United States, and each of the States, and the people. The Proclamation tendered "pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave States" if the states adopted "immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits." Slaveholders in states such as Maryland that were not part of the Confederacy were to be compensated for freeing those people held in slavery and could voluntarily adopt immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery. The Proclamation was intended to initiate "the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent, or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the Governments existing there . . ." If the rebelling states did not comply with these terms and conditions, then on January 1, 1863, anyone held in slavery in the Confederate states that remained at war "shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free. . ."[124]

---

123 Resolution Adopted by the House of Representatives, Special Session, 9 July 1861, Official Records, ser. 2, vol. 1, 759 as cited in Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1985, 107.

124 Kevin McGruder and Velma Maia Thomas, *Emancipation Proclamation—"Forever Free"* (Chicago: Urban Ministries, Inc., 2013); Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862, accessed January 23, 2020, A Transcription, https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, JANUARY 1, 1863

Lincoln drafted his emancipation proclamation in response to the Second Confiscation Act and issued the Proclamation as an executive order. Since slavery was condoned and protected in the United States Constitution it was generally assumed that it had to be ended by executive action rather than by an act of Congress. As a war measure, Lincoln's Proclamation exceeded the legal vision of the Congress by extending emancipation to any enslaved people held by any slaveholder, treasonous or loyal, in the rebellious Southern states. The liberation policy was most decidedly embraced as an essential war tool, designed to destroy the rebellion by freeing forever its coerced labor. The Proclamation opened the path for more than 20,000 Blacks to serve in the Union Army.

In the NCA, the Proclamation did not apply to the District of Columbia which ended slavery through compensated emancipation eight months before the Proclamation was issued. Virginia is the only state in the NCA directly impacted by the Emancipation Proclamation. Maryland, a border state that did not secede from the Union, was not included in the Proclamation. West Virginia was not yet a state when the Proclamation was issued, and none were freed once the state entered the Union. The Thirteenth Amendment brought slavery to an end in West Virginia when it was ratified by the state on February 3, 1865.

RECONSTRUCTION ERA LEGISLATION

The 39th Congress (1865-1867) is considered one of the most important congresses in United States history. Congressional legislatures enacted the Freedman's and Refugees Bureau Acts, the 13th and 14th Amendments, the 1866 Civil Rights Act, and the Reconstruction Act of 1867.

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU ACTS OF 1865–66

On March 3, 1865, Congress passed "An Act to establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees" to provide food, shelter, clothing, medical services, and land to displaced Southerners, including newly freed African Americans. Numerous schools, churches, and communities developed throughout the NCA with the help and guidance, partnership, and support of the Freedmen's Bureau.

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

On December 6, 1865, eight months after the end of the Civil War, the 13th Amendment which abolished slavery and involuntary servitude was ratified. This was the first instance of slavery being specifically mentioned in the U. S. Constitution. The amendment was widely considered a cure for the ills and practices of pre-Civil War America. Congress also required the Confederate states to ratify the

american_originals_iv/sections/transcript_preliminary_emancipation.html.

13th Amendment in order to regain representation in the federal government. The restored government of Virginia (1861-mid-1865), which included NCA counties, ratified the Amendment on February 9, 1865, two months before General Lee's surrender at Appomattox Courthouse. The Amendment did not resolve the political status of the new freedmen and women and as a result, a long series of amendments and civil rights legislation followed.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866 AND THE START OF RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION

After passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, Congress took the next logical step when the House of Representatives overrode President Andrew Johnson's veto of the Civil Rights Bill of 1866. Thaddeus Stevens, in his speech before Congress asserted, "every earthly being who has an immortal soul, has an equal right to justice, honesty, and fair play with every other man; and the law should secure him these rights.[125] Congress passed the first of a century-long succession of Civil Rights Acts, each designed to grant full citizenship and equal rights to all people born in the United States. The law declared all persons born in the United States, with exception of Indians, citizens of the United States and affirmed equal protection under the law, particularly for former slaves.

H.R.1, the District of Columbia Suffrage Bill, was the first piece of legislation that the Thirty-Ninth Congress considered in December of 1865 and the House passed the bill in January 1866. Throughout the remainder of 1866, Black Washingtonians pressed the Senate to do the same which they did in December.

Congress reassembled on January 3, 1867 for the second session of the 39th Congress. That same day, a resolution was adopted in the Senate inquiring into the necessity of further legislation to prevent the sale of people of color back into slavery. A similar resolution made the same inquiry regarding Native Americans. Maryland's Governor Swann opposed the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment but the State law permitting the sale of Blacks into slavery for crime was abolished by the Maryland legislature.[126]

Almost immediately, January 5, 1867, President Johnson sent his veto message of the District of Columbia Suffrage bill to the Senate. He claimed the bill was unconstitutional and opposed to the wishes of the people of the District. He meant, that portion of the people who were white, forgetting that men of color could claim citizenship. On January 8, Congress overrode the veto, thereby granting the right

[125] Thaddeus Stevens, Speech on Reconstruction, January 3, 1867, 39th Session, U. S. Congress, Congressional Globe, 251-53, 252, accessed February 20, 2021, https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage.

[126] Schneider, Richard. *African American History in the Press*, Volume 1, Gale Research, 1996, 492-3, 496.

to vote to all adult male citizens in the District of Columbia. This 1867 law was the first law in the history of the United States to grant voting rights to African American men. The new District law laid the groundwork for national enfranchisement of African American men and helped place the city at the forefront of racial and political change.[127]

THE RECONSTRUCTION ACT OF 1867, MARCH 2

The 1867 Act enacted a plan known as Radical Reconstruction. In January 1867, Congress, intent on ensuring early enactment of reconstruction legislation, provided that the first session of new Congress could begin in March rather than the following December. Although the plan enfranchised Blacks for the first time in most of the nation, it also attempted to curtail the liberties of the freedmen and women and outlined the conditions that Southern states had to follow to be readmitted to the Union following the Civil War.

The general principles guiding congressional reconstruction were detailed in a March 2, 1867 act. The first, The Military Reconstruction Act, provided for military rule in the South until certain political conditions were met. Divided into five military districts, the southern states were to call for new elections to fill state offices and ratify the "Civil War amendments" to the Constitution. The Commonwealth of Virginia was the First Military District, and Major General John M. Schofield was appointed military commander of the District. Each state had to pass a new constitution that guaranteed Black males the right to vote before military forces would be removed.

Military governors were given significant power to decide voter eligibility, remove local officials, impose martial law, to pass laws deemed necessary to ensure the rights of Blacks to vote, and to initiate constitutional conventions, since no state had done so. Blacks could be elected as representatives to these conventions. Ultimately, Blacks would be represented in formulating all new state constitutions. With such broad powers, Republicans were despised and resented by southerners. Northern generals had almost unlimited power to enforce the Reconstruction Acts.[128]

Residents of the nation's capital both observed and participated in the confrontation between President Johnson and congressional Republicans. In mid-February 1866, Johnson vetoed a bill to renew the Freedmen's Bureau and issued a broad

127 Asch and Musgrove, *Chocolate City*. At the time, only five of the twenty-four northern states allowed Black men the vote.

128 "Racial and Ethnic Tensions in American Communities: Poverty, Inequality, and Discrimination—Volume VII: The Mississippi Delta Report," accessed July 25, 2019, https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/msdelta/ch3.htm.

condemnation of the entire congressional Reconstruction effort. As Democrats praised Johnson's actions, African Americans rallied behind the congressional Republicans. Tensions mounted. On the night of February 22, Johnson gave an inflammatory speech to supporters, comparing his congressional opponents to Confederate traitors and then likened himself to Jesus Christ. Democrats rejoiced, but several of Johnson's moderate Republican supporters were aghast. In the ensuing days, when someone attempted to shoot Frederick Douglass during a visit to Baltimore, a white abolitionist doing freedmen's aid work in Washington declared the region "on the brink of a rebellion." The abolitionist concluded, "Things cannot remain as they are" and they did not.[129]

This is the first instance of Congress legislating on civil rights and protecting Black's civil rights from state and private interference. The law invalidated the so-called Black codes that had been put into place in the former Confederate states intent on coming as close to the rule of slavery by governing the behavior of Blacks, effectively keeping them disempowered and dependent on their former enslavers.

Like Black Washingtonians, African Americans in cities throughout the South, demanded new rights and inclusion in the civic body. Because of the close ties between the local community and the federal government in the District, the situations in the capital were unique. The District of Columbia remained, as it had been during the war, a place for Republican legislative experimentation. Blacks in Washington, D.C. continued to push for a broad and expansive definition of civil rights. They looked for support in all corners of the civic arena. They enlisted advocacy of federal officials for their citywide celebration of emancipation in April 1866. They requested approval of the Freedmen's Bureau commissioner and the secretary of war to arm a Black militia regiment. Their bold claim to the right to organize militia challenged officials to engage with the broadest implications of the end of slavery and the resulting newfound freedom it engendered. Comparable to their insistence on equal access to the capital's streetcars that was to follow, Black Washingtonians insisted on recognition of their embryonic civic equality.

Maryland, on the other hand, was slow to react. *The Christian Recorder*, the influential newspaper of the AME Church, reported that "Maryland ought to set the example for her sister states farther South. South Carolina, is, today, ahead of Maryland, as she has repealed her Black laws; but Maryland has not yet done so." Although largely focused on Baltimore, in *A Brotherhood of Liberty*, Dennis Patrick Halpin, emphasizes "the fraught nature of the Reconstruction Era in

[129] Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 118; Hans L. Trefousse, *Andrew Johnson: A Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989).

former slave states that did not secede."[130] Although the state constitution ended slavery in November 1864 and seemingly took steps to ensure that former Confederates would not regain power, it was the federal government, through the Freedman's Bureau, that guided the state through the complex, post-civil war problems of labor disputes, legal assistance, and local attempts to impinge on the freedom of the free.

By 1866, Maryland Democrats regained power and within a year had rewritten the Maryland constitution which did not extend the vote to Maryland's Black voters. The constitution shifted power away from the northern counties and centered power in the more conservative southern counties. This was accomplished by counting the entire population, including the African American population disfranchised by the Constitution, to establish representation in the General Assembly.[131] The system of penal slavery in Maryland, where Blacks could be sold into slavery for perceived crimes, was outlawed by the General Assembly in 1867. This proved unnecessary because the problem was handled at the federal level. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 had outlawed legislation authorizing different punishment based on race.[132]

During the spring and summer months of 1866 congressional Republicans won decisive victories by developing a coalition adept at passing legislation over Johnson's repeated vetoes. The most significant among the new laws was the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which was intended to insure protection to the new freedman in the aftermath of the Civil War. Opponents argued that the act would result in reverse discrimination in favor of African Americans by granting them benefits not previously enjoyed by whites.[133] Johnson vetoed the law in late March stating that Blacks lacked qualifications to become U.S. citizens and that the measure would "operate in favor of the colored and against the white race."[134] Congress quickly passed the law again with the necessary majority. Most importantly, the Civil Rights Act in its final form, reflected the Republican consensus on the meaning and limits of civil rights. The law, which established birthright citizenship as the law of the land, contained a provision that all U.S. citizens "have the same right" to enter into contracts and to convey and hold property and to the "full and

130 Dennis Patrick Halpin, "Border State Reconstruction: How black Marylanders took the fight for racial equality into their own hands," The Penn Press Log, The University of Pennsylvania, accessed January 24, 2020, https://pennpress.typepad.com/pennpresslog/2019/08/border-state-reconstruction-how-black-marylanders-took-the-fight-for-racial-equality-into-their-own-.html.

131 Dennis Patrick Halpin, *Brotherhood of Liberty: Black Reconstruction and Its Legacies in Baltimore, 1865-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

132 Curry, p. 179.

133 Christian G. Samito, ed., *The Greatest and Grandest Act: The Civil Rights Act of 1866.*

134 "Andrew Johnson's Veto of the Civil Rights Bill," America's Reconstruction, accessed June 21, 2021, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/exhibits/reconstruction/section4/section4_10veto2.html.

equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property; as is enjoyed by white citizens."

Johnson again vetoed the Reconstruction Act of 1867 which permitted the newly freed the right to participate in the constitutional conventions that formed the new state governments. The constitutions of the new governments were in turn required to provide voting rights for all men without regard to race. Since Maryland was beyond the reach of the Reconstruction Acts, the state passed a new registry law that year calling for registering "all white male persons" over twenty-one years of age. It also rejected a bill authorizing people of color to testify in the courts.[135]

On December 3, 1867, President Johnson's State of the Union message to the second session of the Fortieth Congress was presented before the Senate and the House of Representatives. Announcing that his well-known convictions on the reconstruction measures of Congress were both unchanged and strengthened by the recent events, Johnson put forward old arguments. Claiming that the Southern States, never having been out of the Union, were entitled to all the rights and privileges conferred by the Constitution of the Union. He contended that the establishment of the present military governments by Congress wrongfully infringed on the South and were not justified by the Constitution. Johnson went on to recommend the repeal of the acts that had established these governments as unconstitutional. He further charged that "it is manifestly and avowedly the object of these laws to confer upon the negroes the privilege of voting, and to disfranchise such number of white citizens as will give the former a clear majority at all elections in the Southern states," and declared that "the subjugation of States to negro domination would be worse that the military despotism under which they are now suffering."[136] Johnson claimed that this process of suffrage for African American males amounted to "clothing the Negro race with the political privileges torn from white men."[137]

As the 1857 *Dred Scott* decision notoriously declared, birth in the United States did not automatically entitle even freeborn people to citizenship. The Court asked whether the descendants of slaves, when they are emancipated or who become free before their birth, are citizens of a State. Although this first Civil Rights law overturned the infamous court decision, the Civil War thrust historical questions and interpretations of citizenship to the foreground. In the fall of 1862, for ex-

135 Edward McPherson, *A Political Manual* (Washington, DC: Philp & Solomon, 1867), 133.

136 State of the Union, Andrew Johnson, December 3, 1867, accessed July 25, 2019, http://stateoftheunion.onetwothree.net/texts/18671203.html.

137 Schneider, Richard, *African American History in the Press*, Volume 1, Gale Research, 1996, 534; Harper's Weekly, December 14, 1867, 787.

ample, Lincoln's attorney general offered an opinion in support of the concept of birthright citizenship. The document bolstered African Americans in their quest for evidence that a way would open to secure their status as citizens as one result of the war.

The 1866 Civil Rights Act solidified a new and different vision of birthright citizenship. It broadly recognized the types of rights to which individual citizens would be entitled.[138] The specific "civil rights" protected by the law remained both in question and in dispute. Congress did not take it upon itself, either in the Civil Rights Act or in the Fourteenth Amendment it passed months earlier, to articulate the exact meaning of "the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings . . . as is enjoyed by white citizens."[139] As the first fledgling steps toward affirming citizenship and protected civil rights, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 failed to protect political or social rights such as voting and equal accommodations. Each would require separate fights.

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

Following the end of the War, two constitutional provisions were ratified to protect the rights of African Americans: The 14th (1868) and 15th Amendments (1870). Congress had passed several Reconstruction Acts to provide for political participation of Blacks in southern state politics. Taken together with the Thirteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1866, these acts inaugurated a new order of democracy and equal rights for Blacks and whites in the South that lasted about a decade.

The 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (enacted in June 1866, ratified July 9, 1868) reads "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The original intent tilted more toward sanctuary rather than toward equality. Historian Christopher Bonner saw the Fourteenth Amendment, "in some ways [as] the culmination of decades of Black activism.[140]

---

138 Kettner, *Development of American Citizenship*, 248-333; Novack, "Legal Transformation of Citizenship"; Vorenberg, "Citizenship and the Thirteenth Amendment."

139 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 119; "42 U.S. Code § 1981, Equal rights under the law," Legal Information Institute, Cornell University, accessed July 25, 2019, https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/42/1981.

140 Derrick Bell, Race, Racism and American Law (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977); Christopher Bonner, "The Roots of Reconstruction," The Journal of the Civil War Era, July 10, 2018, accessed September 3, 2019, https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2018/07/the-roots-of-Reconstruction.

In 1868, as Reconstruction progressed, Americans struggled to adjust to the new laws and policies that pertained to civil rights, and the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. African Americans had been insisting on their rights for years. These first steps were being taken to grant African American citizenship and the right of men to vote at the state level. New citizens and their eagerness to vote led to major controversy, particularly in the South and African American voters found it difficult to find proper representation.[141] By 1868, former confederates were already seeking official pardon. President Andrew Johnson issued a general pardon on Christmas Day in December 1868 for all those who fought for the Confederacy, if anyone eligible applied for one.

By 1868, Congress ratified the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, granting full citizenship to all born or naturalized in the United States, but again excluding Native Americans. Maryland as a border state was not required under the Civil Rights Acts to ratify the Amendment and the Maryland legislature of 1867 rejected it. The General Assembly of Virginia also refused to ratify the amendment until forced to do so. Ratification of the Amendment became a precondition of regaining their representation in Congress. On October 8, 1869, more than a year after it had become part of the Constitution, the Virginia assembly voted in favor of the Amendment. West Virginia, on the other hand, was among the first twenty-eight states to ratify the Amendment.

Prior to Reconstruction, citizenship was usually considered a local status, not a national one. Citizens were typically considered to be the local men with stewardship or governance over the entire community. This vision of citizenship placed great importance on the hierarchies of race, sex, and wealth. Under this definition and during the early periods, citizen was generally synonymous with a taxpayer of local standing who was entitled to a greater say in community affairs than those without substantial resources. In many states, north and south, land ownership and property values had provided access to the vote.

Citizenship did not become a national, constitutional status until the 14th Amendment was ratified in 1868. Full citizenship was often associated with the vote, but voting was considered less an individual right than a privilege to which only those with certain kinds of elevated status – property holders or white men, for example--were entitled. Citizens enjoyed benefits, but they also had obligations to the community, such as serving in the militia, paying taxes, and contributing to charities.[142] Kate Masur observed that during Reconstruction, conservatives purpose-

141 Schneider, Richard, *African American History in the Press*, Volume 1, Gale Research, 1996, 535.

142 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 4.

fully invoked this increasingly antiquated use of the term "citizen" against African Americans' claims that they, too, were citizens. Opponents to Black citizenship worked against the ideas put forth in the 1866 Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment "that a citizen was any American-born or naturalized individual and that all citizens were equally entitled to an array of basic rights."[143]

When the debate about Black enfranchisement in the District took hold, conservatives claimed that "citizens," meaning white men, opposed Black enfranchisement. In 1869 a "Citizens' Ticket" looked to unite moderate Republicans with Democrats by arguing for fiscal restraint and the promotion of commerce. Citizenship did not become a national, constitutional status until the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868. These debates were counterbalanced by political reality.[144]

The first part of the 14th Amendment, known as the Citizenship Clause, further extended the status of citizenship to Black Americans. It also reversed the 1857 Supreme Court Dred Scott decision, which had declared that anyone held in slavery and their descendants were not citizens of the United States. Since the recalcitrant states continued to refuse to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, subsequent Reconstruction Acts were passed to force compliance. Repeated failure to abide by this principle on the part of Democratic state governments in the South would spark the Civil Rights Movement one hundred years later.[145]

THE FIRST RECONSTRUCTION ACT (MARCH 1867)

Because of continued resistance on the part of both President Johnson and the South to recognizing the African American demands for citizenship and civil rights, the Republican majority in Congress decided to take control by approving this first of three Military Reconstruction Acts, effectively ending Johnson's control over Reconstruction. The Enforcement Act prohibited groups of people from banding together "or to go in disguise upon the public highways, or upon the premises of another" with the intention of violating citizens' constitutional rights. Even this legislation, however, did not diminish harassment and intimidation of Black voters in certain areas.[146]

143 Ibid., 221.

144 Ibid., 4.

145 "150 Years Later, The Original Meaning of The Fourteenth Amendment Protects Our Liberties," *The Federalist*, accessed June 17, 2021, https://thefederalist.com/2018/07/13/150-years-later-original-meaning-fourteenth-amendment-protects-liberties.

146 "Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights", NPS, accessed July 25, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/upload/CivilRights_VotingRights.pdf; Constitutional Amendments and Major Civil Rights Acts of Congress Referenced in Black Americans in Congress, United States House of Representatives, accessed January 24, 2020, https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Data/Constitutional-Amendments-and-Legislation.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

The 15th Amendment was the third and final enactment of the Reconstruction Amendments that ended enslavement and greatly expanded citizenship rights for the new freedmen. The 15th Amendment to the Constitution guaranteed the right to vote to all adult male citizens. Aiming to prohibit discrimination in voter registration on the basis of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, the legislation established penalties for interfering with a person's right to vote. West Virginia led the way by becoming the first state in the NCA and the second state in the Union to ratify the Amendment in March of 1869.

Between 1868 and 1870 Black men in Maryland had been denied membership in the Republican Party but Maryland's Republican Party did take action to seek passage of the 15th Amendment as a way of pushing Maryland to accept universal manhood suffrage. Ultimately Maryland's legislature unanimously rejected the Amendment; it was only after ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment that Republican enthusiasm for Black voters reemerge. But the relentless resistance and the reign of terror and the denial of rights, particularly in former states of the confederacy, including Virginia, led Congress to pass the First Ku Klux Klan Act, also known as the Civil Rights Act of 1870.

Although Marylanders were among many of the staunchest supporters of the Amendment, the Maryland Senate and House of Delegates rejected the 15th Amendment's granting of suffrage to all men and protecting a citizen's right to vote from restrictions based on "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Ratification of the amendment in 1870 came without Maryland's concurrence.[147]

Although the rights and freedoms of Maryland's Black citizens were far from assured, ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in 1870 added 39,000 new Black voters to the total of 131,000 white voters registered in the state of Maryland.[148] The Democratic Party's firm political control on Baltimore and Maryland reflected the same national trends that led to the withdrawal of Union troops from the South and the end of Reconstruction.

The failure of the Republican Party to support the interests of Black Baltimoreans led many to turn to independent organizations such as the National Equal-Rights League which began in 1864 and thrived and expanded during Reconstruction.

147 The Fifteenth Amendment in the National Archives.

148 "1831-1884: Abolition and Emancipation," Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage, accessed June 17, 2021, https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1831-1884.

In Virginia, African American men had been able to vote for sixteen months before Congress passed the 15th Amendment and twenty-eight months before it became part of the Constitution. Virginia became the eighteenth state to ratify the Amendment. The state ratified the 14th and 15th Amendments at the same time on October 8, 1869. At the time of the ratification of the Amendment in 1869, Alexandria County's Black population was more than 8,700, or about half the total number of residents in the County. This newly enfranchised constituency provided the support necessary to elect the first Black Alexandrians to the City Council and the Virginia Legislature.[149] Virginia rejoined the Union.

In all the former Confederate states, Congress had recognized new governments by 1870, controlled by the Republican party. Three groups were at the core of Southern Republicanism. African Americans formed one group and were the overwhelming majority of Southern Republican voters. Many, such as ministers, artisans and army war veterans had enjoyed freedom before the Civil War and had been accustomed to leadership roles. As Foner observes, ". . . the advent of African Americans to positions of political power was among the era's most revolutionary developments.[150]

Former Union soldiers, Freedmen's Bureau agents, teachers, and businessmen who were new arrivals from the north, commonly referred to as "Carpetbaggers" formed a second group. According to Foner, most had come south before 1867, when the possibility of winning office was remote. However, they jumped at the opportunity to help reshape the "backward" region in the image of the North.[151]

Businessmen and planters and many non-slaveholding small farmers from the Southern upcountry made up the third large group consisting of native-born white Republicans, often referred to as "scalawags." This group had been loyal to the Union during the Rebellion and saw the Republican Party as the conduit for thwarting "rebels" in regaining power in the South. To that end they were willing to engage with Blacks.[152]

As legal historian Derrick Bell observes, "The Fifteenth Amendment, politically obsolete at birth, was not effectively enforced for almost a century."[153] Following ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress passed "an Act to enforce the

149 "Alexandria's Freedmen's Cemetery," City of Alexandria, Virginia, accessed July 10, 2019, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/ContrabandsCemeteryHistoricalOverview.pdf.

150 Eric Foner, "Reconstruction," NPS, accessed July 25, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/articles/reconstruction.htm.

151 Ibid.

152 Ibid.

153 Bell, Race, Racism and American Law, p. 39.

Rights of Citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union, and for other Purposes," also known as the Enforcement Act of 1870. This Act was intended to enforce the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several states of this Union. The Act ordered that any citizen, otherwise qualified to vote, shall be entitled to vote without distinction to race, color, or previous condition of servitude. It also specified penalties for obstruction of the right to vote by election officials or other citizens. Facing continual enforcement difficulties, the act was amended in 1871 to strengthen the penalties for fraudulent registration or failure or refusal to register entitled persons.

The Commonwealth of Virginia had ratified the 13th and 14th Amendments as a condition of reentry into the Union on January 26, 1870. As Virginia and the six other confederate states were readmitted to the United States of America, the U. S. Army in the South had to contend with a formidable new adversary. The rise of Republicanism in the Southern states led to the formation of the Ku Klux Klan and other secret paramilitary organizations dedicated to preserving the myth of white supremacy and restoring the Democrats to their former political dominance. According to military historian Mark Bradley, "In Virginia, Klan activity was scattered and of brief duration because the Republican Party never gained control of the Old Dominion. As a result, Democrats there did not feel sufficiently threatened to terrorize their political opponents" to the extent practiced in other parts of the South.[154]

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTS/THE ENFORCEMENT ACTS

FIRST KU KLUX KLAN ACTS (1870–71)

In June of 1870, Congress authorized the establishment of the Justice Department to provide the operational apparatus for implementing the several provisions of the First Enforcement Act. Three Civil Rights Acts: one in 1870, two in 1871, known as Ku Klux Klan Acts, were designed to enforce and guarantee the protections of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the Civil Rights Act of 1866. Aimed at guaranteeing fair and equal elections, the acts prohibited discrimination at the polls, interference with a citizen's right to vote, and placed polls under federal control.

[154] Mark L. Bradley, The Army and Reconstruction, 1865-1877 (Washington, DC: Center for Military History, United States Army, 2015), accessed July 23, 2019, https://history.army.mil/html/books/075/75-18/cmhPub_75-18.pdf.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1871/THE SECOND FORCE ACT/ SECOND KU KLUX KLAN ACT (FEBRUARY 1871)

The Second Force Act placed administration of national elections under the control of the federal government and empowered federal judges and United States marshals to supervise local polling places.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT/THIRD FORCE/ENFORCEMENT ACT/THIRD KU KLUX KLAN ACT (APRIL 1871)

The Third Force Act dated April 1871, empowered the president to use the armed forces to combat those who conspired to deny equal protection of the laws and to suspend habeas corpus, if necessary, to enforce the act.

Reflecting the rise of terror that gripped the south, the Civil Rights Act of 1871, sometimes known as the Third Enforcement Act or the Ku Klux Klan Act, made state officials liable in federal court for depriving anyone of their civil rights or the equal protection of the laws. The law classified the Ku Klux Klan's intimidation tactics as federal offenses, authorized the president to call out the militia to suppress conspiracies against the operation of the federal government, and empowered the president to suspend the writ of habeas corpus if violence rendered efforts to suppress the Klan ineffective.

Locally in June 1872, the territorial legislature in Washington, DC passed a public accommodations law legislating against business that explicitly discriminated on the basis of race or discouraged Black patronage, but the public accommodation bills were largely ignored. Blacks were intimated and when they did bring suit, "the courts made a mockery of the law," according to one historian.[155]

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1875

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 focused on the guarantees of citizenship but failed to protect political or social rights such as voting and equal accommodations. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 had been passed by Congress and entitled all citizens access to public accommodations, public transportation, and theaters regardless of race or color—what David Delaney called "the geography of everyday life."[156] Schools and churches were excluded from the law. From a civic perspective, it prohibited the exclusion of African Americans from jury service. Neither the Thirteenth nor Fourteenth Amendments empowered Congress to safeguard Blacks against the actions of private individuals. To decide otherwise would have afforded Blacks a special status under the law that whites did not enjoy. Passage of

[155] Masur, *An Example for All the Land*.

[156] David Delaney, *Race, Place & the Law 1836-1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 87.

Civil Rights Act of 1875 related to public accommodations and was intended to ban race discrimination in access to services offered to the public. Charles Sumner optimistically predicted that the Civil Rights Act which he introduced would be the greatest achievement of Reconstruction. Sumner thought that "Very few measures of equal importance have ever been presented."[157]

Taken together these are generally referred to as the first Civil Rights Acts. To implement the principles in the Fourteenth Amendment, Congress had specified that people could not be discriminated against on grounds of race or color in access to services offered to the general public. The business owners contended that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was itself unconstitutional and an Act of Congress should not be able to interfere with their private rights of property. The Supreme Court held that the language of the 14th Amendment, which prohibited denial of equal protection by a state, did not give Congress power to regulate these private acts, because it was the result of conduct and harm inflicted by private individuals, not state law or action, that Black people were suffering.[158]

COMPROMISE OF 1877

Certainly 1877 stands out among tragic years in American history. In the Compromise of 1877, a bargain between Southern Conservative Democrats and Republicans allowed Rutherford B. Hayes to be elected President. In exchange for Republican-supported legislation favorable to Southern railroads, federal troops were removed from the South. "So, like the compromises of 1820 and 1850, the union was 'secured', and the Blacks were sacrificed."[159] After the 1877 Compromise, the North as well as the South retreated into a pattern of segregation and discrimination. For Blacks in Washington, things deteriorated rapidly and steadily after 1878 and the white press became increasingly critical and ignoring of their existence. William Calvin Chase, future editor of The Washington Bee charged the Republican Party with dereliction of duty toward Blacks.[160] Not only has the Compromise come to signal the end of Reconstruction, according to C. Vann Woodward, "it shaped the future of four million freedmen and their progeny for generations to come."[161] As historian Lerone Bennett observed of the people who endured the post-civil war legislative saga that informed the quest for equality and justice, "By resisting, maintaining, enduring and abiding, by holding on and holding fast and holding out, they provided one of the greatest examples in history

157 Landmark Legislation: Civil Rights Act of 1875, United States Senate, htm accessed September 18, 2019, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/CivilRights-Act1875.

158 Masur, Kate, *An Example for All the Land*, 220-21.

159 Merline Pitre, "Frederick Douglass: The Politician vs. the Social Reformer." Phylon (1960) 40, no. 3 (1979): 270-77, 272. Accessed January 24, 2020. doi:10.2307/274569.

160 Ibid.

161 C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reactions: The Compromise of 1877 and the end of Reconstruction* (Garden City, 1956), 2.

of the strength of the human spirit in adversity."[162] As African Americans were to learn, in reality, after 1877 the federal government reacted impassively to Blacks' disfranchisement and allowed horrid treatment of Blacks by the states.

CIVIL RIGHTS CASES OF 1883

In the *Civil Rights Cases* in March 1883, the Supreme Court nullified the Civil Rights Act of 1875 by declaring it unconstitutional. The Supreme Court decided that neither the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, nor the Fourteenth Amendment, which guaranteed African Americans equal protection of the law, was violated by the existence of customary, systematic arrangements of uncodified racial discrimination, and therefore could not be constitutionally prohibited. The Court stripped the two amendments of much of their meaning, ruling that the 14th Amendment prohibited states, but not citizens, from discriminating.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1875 DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL

The Supreme Court ruled that the public accommodations clauses of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 were unconstitutional and severely restricted the power of the federal government to guarantee equal status under the law for Blacks. Federal and state judges and legislators helped dismantle Black rights and the Supreme Court continued to play a crucial role. The issue that surfaced questioned whether Congress had the authority to pass a law that prohibited racial discrimination and delineated the difference between civil rights and social rights. In five cases from lower courts, African American plaintiffs sued theaters, hotels and transit companies that refused them admission, or had excluded them from "white only" facilities.

As historian David Blight observed, "The Supreme Court had just eviscerated one of the greatest achievements of Reconstruction."[163] Within a week, African Americans had pulled together and held a standing-room-only Civil Rights Mass Meeting at Lincoln Hall that once stood at the northeast corner of 9th and D Streets NW in Washington, DC. Keynote speaker, Frederick Douglass viewed the Court's actions as "one more shocking development of that moral weakness in high places which has attended the conflict between the spirit of liberty and the spirit of slavery from the beginning, and I venture to predict that it will be so regarded by after-coming generations." Frederick Douglass offered this further assessment: "Then came a period of hesitation, apology and fear. The colored citizen was left to his fate. For years, the Federal arm, palsied by policy, was powerless

[162] Lerone Bennett as cited in "Courage, My Soul: Historic African American Churches and Mutual Aid Societies," Elaine E. Thompson, Guest Curator, accessed July 25, 2019, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/559ec31fe4b0550458945194/t/563e3802e4b051cc4947f6fe/1446918146415/Courage%2C+My+Soul.pdf.

[163] David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 646.

to protect; and this period of fear, of hesitation, of apology, of lack of confidence in the right, has borne its natural fruit—this decision of the Supreme Court." Douglass understood that the ruling left "seven million people of this country . . . naked and defenseless against the action of a malignant, vulgar, and pitiless prejudice. It presents the United States before the world as a Nation utterly destitute of power to protect the rights of its own citizens upon its own soil."[164]

The practical effects of the decision removed a key remaining restraint on southern discriminatory practices. With restraints gone, violence and injustice ran rampant in the South. *The National Historic Landmark Civil Rights Framework* notes that in a little more than fifteen years beyond the end of the sectional conflict that brought on the Civil War, "the concept of equal rights collapsed in the wake of legislative and judicial actions." Both political parties sacrificed civil rights for Blacks in exchange for white southern votes.[165]

One factor driving opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was the fear that the law was an attempt to legislate social equality. In his powerful speech before the mass meeting for Civil Rights, Douglass reminded the attendees, "Liberty is not a social question. Civil equality is not social equality."[166] Ultimately, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was declared unconstitutional in 1883 by US Supreme Court. Against the famous dissent of Justice Harlan, a majority held the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional, because Congress lacked authority to regulate private affairs under the Thirteenth Amendment which "merely abolishes slavery" or under the Fourteenth Amendment.

The court's decision finally led to the enactment of state laws, such as Jim Crow Laws, which organized what had previously been individual acts into the societal practices of racial segregation. State officials in the South took advantage of the curtailed role of Congress in the prohibition of racial discrimination and legalized the subjugation of Blacks as second-class citizens for another seventy years.

Several northern and western states, however, did not follow suit and began instead enacting their own bans on discrimination in public places. Despite mounting resistance by Maryland Blacks, particularly in Baltimore, the conditions of unequal treatment continued to worsen in Maryland and across much of the country. Justice Harlan, in his dissenting opinion, correctly predicted the deci-

164 Frederick Douglass, "Proceedings of the Civil Rights Mass-Meeting held at Lincoln Hall, October 22, 1883. Speeches of Hon. Frederick Douglass and Robert G. Ingersoll," Colored Conventions Project Digital Records, 6-7 accessed January 23, 2020, https://omeka.colored-conventions.org/items/show/1194.

165 *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites*, 2002, Revised 2008, National Historic Landmark Civil Rights Framework, 7.

166 Douglass, "Proceedings," 51.

sion's long-term consequences. The ruling put an end to the attempts by Radical Republicans to ensure the civil rights of Blacks and ushered in the widespread segregation of Blacks in housing, employment, and public life that confined them to second-class citizenship throughout much of the United States until the passage of civil rights legislation in the 1960s in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement.[167]

PLESSY V. FERGUSON

With the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896, the Supreme Court "turned its back on Reconstruction." Historian Mark Elliot characterized the Plessy suit as "the last effort by surviving Radical Republicans of the Civil War generation to establish an interracial democratic public." He further observed that the Plessy case introduced several enduring legal principles and metaphors into constitutional discourse about race, civil rights, and models of the ideal democratic public.[168] In *Plessy*, the Court gave countenance to and sustained the constitutionality of state-imposed racial segregation.[169]

Homer Plessy had been arrested in 1892 in New Orleans for refusing to leave his seat in a segregated train car designated for whites only. His battle against racially segregated public accommodations made it to the Supreme Court. After decades of lurching wildly between legislation in support of racial justice and legal rights for African Americans, and abandonment of almost all legal assurances, the Supreme Court and the nation finally came to rest with one of the worst legal rulings ever handed down in a democratic society.

In the *Plessy v. Ferguson* "separate but equal" ruling of 1896, the Supreme Court ruled that state imposed racial segregation through a "separate but equal" formula did not violate the Constitution even as it stood in contradiction to the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment. Laws segregating people because of their race closed out a tortured century of legal grappling around citizenship, race and civil and equal rights. *Plessy* laid the foundation for more than a half century of violent, uncivilized, racially driven practices and judicially sanctioned discrimination expressed through segregation.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, race relations in Maryland along with the rest of the country fell below all imaginable levels for a democratic society.

167 Allen C. Guelzo, *Reconstruction: A Concise History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Stony the road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow* (New York: Penguin Press, 2019).

168 Elliott, Mark. "Race, Color Blindness, and the Democratic Public: Albion W. Tourgée's Radical Principles in Plessy v. Ferguson." The Journal of Southern History 67, no. 2 (2001): 287-330, 288. Accessed January 24, 2020. doi:10.2307/3069867.

169 Ibid; Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White* (New York: Random House, 1964), 106.

Maryland's Governor Bowie had anticipated the sentiment of the Court and had ordered separate but equal schools in 1872. An 1885 ruling of the U. S. District Court ruled that separate but equal accommodation in travel was a reasonable regulation and a second case in 1889 confirmed the opinion. The People's Advocate out of Washington decried the rulings, suggesting that Blacks "strike at the root" of the problem by patronizing and building up Black establishments. Although eighteen states passed amended Civil Rights Acts in an attempt to countermand the damage, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia were not among them.[170]

In all the former Confederate states, constitutions were rewritten or amended to conform to *Plessy*. Virginia rewrote its Constitution of 1902, instituted poll taxes as well as literacy tests and mandated separate schools. "Although Virginia public schools were racially segregated from the beginning, the Constitution of 1902 was the state's first constitution to require segregation. In 1904, the General Assembly gave streetcar companies the power to segregate passengers by race. Two years later, in the wake of protests and boycotts organized by African Americans in almost every major city in the state, the assembly nevertheless enacted legislation that required racial segregation on streetcars."[171]

[170] Weaver, Valeria W. "The Failure of Civil Rights 1875-1883 and Its Repercussions." The Journal of Negro History, vol. 54, no. 4, 1969, 368–382. Accessed 4 Feb. 2020, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2716730. *People's Advocate*, July 12, 1879.

[171] "Jim Crow to Civil Rights in Virginia," Virginia Museum of History and Culture, accessed February 3, 2020, https://www.virginiahistory.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/jim-crow-civil-rights-virginia.

CHAPTER THREE: NATIONAL POLITICIANS: LOCAL LEADERS

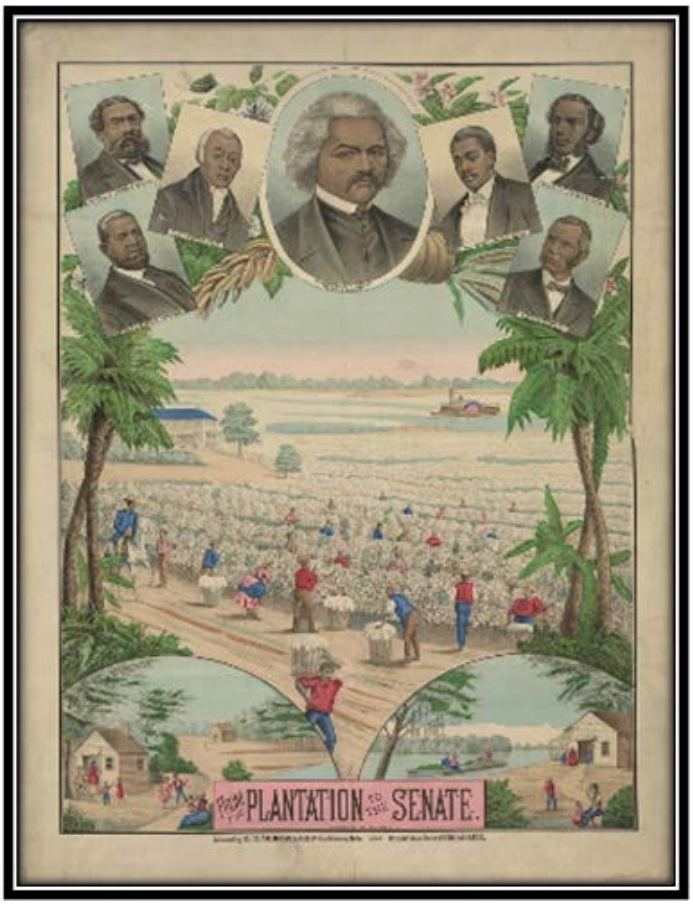


Figure 5. **From Plantation to Senate (LOC). Image shows from left to right: Benjamin S. Turner, Hiram Revels, Bishop Richard Allen, Frederick Douglass (center), Josiah T. Walls, Joseph H. Rainey, and William Wells Brown**

> In this country all rights must be preserved, all wrongs redressed, through the ballot. The colored man has in his possession, in his care, a part of the sovereign power of the Republic. At the ballot-box he is the equal of judges and senators and presidents, and his vote, when counted is the equal of any other. He must use this sovereign power for his own protection, and for the preservation of his children. The ballot is his sword and shield. It is his political providence. It is the rock on which he stands, the column against which he leans.
>
> —Robert G. Ingersoll, Proceedings of the Civil Rights Mass-Meeting held at Lincoln Hall, October 22, 1883

BLACKS AND THE POLITICS OF RECONSTRUCTION

African Americans sought the ballot as a vehicle to claim their first-class citizenship. When emancipated Blacks pursued equality, they demanded the vote on the same basis as that exercised by Whites. In 1865, a rule of 1827 still forbade Blacks from setting foot in either legislative Chamber of the Capitol.[172] People of color considered access to the Capitol and to Congress as particularly important for their equal civil status. After all, Congress was the branch of government most identified with "the people." During the war, Black men and women began lifting that veil by attending congressional debates. At the outset, the climate was hostile.[173]

Many of those Black Americans coming to legislative power and prominence had either once been enslaved or demonstrated their leadership capacities by engineering their own escape and the escape of their families. Others had been the sons of White fathers who had equipped them for liberty by educating them. During the Reconstruction, four Black lieutenant governors, twenty U.S. congressmen, and two U.S. Senators served their country. In addition to these elected officials, three secretaries of state, a state Supreme Court justice, two state treasurers, and numerous minor public officials took political office, primarily throughout the South.

Several of these officials who served in the U. S. Senate or in the House of Representatives had to come to the nation's capital to fulfill their elected duties and had an impact on the District of Columbia. Several had been trained at Howard University. According to a House of Representatives study, *Blacks in Congress*, "Members viewed themselves as 'surrogate' representatives for the black community nationwide rather than just within the borders of their individual districts or states." When they came to Washington, they found "one of the country's most expansive black elite communities." Many of the Black Representatives who came to serve in Congress took up residency in the upper-class Black neighborhoods near Howard University. "Other Black Representatives lived in upscale boarding houses and homes near Lafayette Square and on Capitol Hill."[174]

The dates that Blacks were elected to and served in Congress provide a strong gauge for reconsidering and determining the arc of Reconstruction. The three Blacks who served the 45th Congress (1877-1879) in 1877 are generally tallied as marking the end of Reconstruction. However, voting rights instituted during

[172] Constance McLaughlin Green, *Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital*, 7.

[173] Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 90-91.

[174] See Tom Shroder, "Out of the Mud," *Washington Post Magazine*, December 8, 2002, 20–27, 41–48; Congressional Directory, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1872): 120–125 from Blacks in Congress, fn. 56 & 57, 46.

Reconstruction insured that Black Representatives continued to serve in Congress until the beginning of the twentieth century, almost thirty years beyond 1877, the date usually cited to mark the end of Reconstruction. Mississippi, North and South Carolina and Georgia continued to send Blacks to Congress. The Congressmen who served between 1877 and 1901 fall into a historical abyss with no era to claim them. The U. S. House of Representatives characterized the era as "defined by a long war on African American participation in state and federal politics, waged by means of local southern laws, Jim Crow segregation, and tacit federal assent." The era was, in fact, the final phase and the culmination of Reconstruction.[175]

Senator Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi served as the lone Black congressman in the 46th Congress (1879-1881). Two Representatives, Robert Smalls (South Carolina) and John R. Lynch (Mississippi) took their seats in the 47th Congress and North Carolina's John O'Hara served in the 48th and 49th Congresses. As the full effects of national law, state practices and local violence began to take their toll, Congressional representation among Blacks slowly ended. For the first time in seventeen years, Congress had no Black members; the 50th Congress (1887-1889) had no African American representation. The continued intimidation of Black voters kept most away from polls. The 51st Congress seated Henry Cheatham (North Carolina) and John Mercer Langston, the influential Congressman from Virginia, who served with South Carolina's Thomas E. Miller. Cheatham won reelection to the 52nd Congress as well. George W. Murray, U.S. Representative from South Carolina, served as the lone Black congressman in the 53rd and 54th Congresses (1893-1897). And finally, George H. White, was elected to the 55th and 56th Congresses. White, taking his seat in the 56th Congress (1899-1901) would be the last Black elected official to serve in the federal legislature for twenty-eight years.

Over the decades, government would first erode and then deny Blacks political power and access to the vote. By 1901, the nation, its Black voters and those who represented them had come full-circle and political gains realized through the Reconstruction years were buried so deep that it would take more than a half century for them to resurface.

[175] *Black Americans in Congress 1870-2007*, Office of History and Preservation, Office of the Clerk, United States House of Representatives (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 2008), 3, 30-31.

ELECTED BLACK OFFICIALS COME TO WASHINGTON, D.C.

"Although racism and discrimination resulted in ongoing oppression for African Americans in the United States, many individual members of the USCT found that their military service had earned them trust and respect, at least within the Black community. Many Black veterans staked out careers in politics during the Reconstruction years." Blacks won seats in Congress for the first time in American history as a prime result of enforcement of Reconstruction laws and policies. None of the elected officials, however, represented any of the counties in NCA, in part because the laws governing Reconstruction and voting rights for Blacks applied only to Virginia in the NCA. Virginia's John Mercer Langston who had resided in the District of Columbia and served as Inspector General of the Freedmen's Bureau, was elected to the 51st Congress but his voting District was outside the NCA. These elected officials, however, were required to work and/or live in Washington during their time in office. Several of these statesmen remained after their term, with some becoming a major influence and making significant contributions in the area even though their state was not within the NCA. Washington became an example for the country not only because Congress experimented with policy there, but also because local residents saw slavery's end as an opportunity to transform the city."[176]

BLACKS IN CONGRESS

Although Congress had enacted the Civil Rights Laws, some statesmen were not ready or interested in granting full rights to the newly elected African American officials. Despite such attitudes, Joseph H. Rainey became the first and the longest serving African American in the U. S. House of Representatives, serving a total of nine years, from the 41st (1869-1871) through the 45th (1877-1879) Congresses. Through his strong advocacy for the Civil Rights Bill of 1875, he defended the call for civil rights, "not because we want to deprive any other class of the rights and immunities they enjoy, but because they are granted to us by the law of the land."[177] Joseph and Susan Rainey came to Washington in December 1870. Rainey's work on the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs, created in 1865 to address all legislation concerning newly freed men and women, garnered widespread recognition. Rainey holds the distinction of being the first African American to preside over the House of Representatives.

In 1874, Rainey gave a newspaper interview to the *New National Era* that exposed the second-class treatment he and his colleagues were receiving in Washington. He noted that Black Representatives were forced to pay higher rent and higher

176 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 6.
177 *Black Americans in Congress 1870-2007*, 62.

prices at local restaurants. He used his position in Congress to bring the problem to the floor of the House of Representatives.[178]

Hiram R. Revels, U. S. Senator from Mississippi stepped into the highest level of Congress by filling the two-year unexpired term of Jefferson Davis, former president of the Confederacy. On March 16, 1870, in the first official speech by a Black person in Congress, Revels voiced his opposition to the readmission of Georgia to the Union without adequate safeguards for Black citizens. Revels served for one year. By serving on the Committee of Education and Labor and the Committee on the District of Columbia, he was in favor of desegregating schools in the district and was instrumental in defeating a proposed amendment for segregating the public schools in the District of Columbia.[179] Revels returned to Mississippi at the end of his term. After he left office, he was introduced as the "Fifteenth Amendment in flesh and blood," as he toured the United States.[180]

John R. Lynch was the youngest of the Black congressmen and highly respected. When Lynch took his seat at the 43rd Congress (1873-1875), he complained bitterly to Congress about the indignities he suffered on an official trip from Mississippi to Washington when he was forced to travel in "filthy smoking cars" filled with drunks, criminals and gamblers. "When I leave my home to come to the capital of the nation, to take part in the deliberations of the House and participate with you in making laws for the government of this great Republic, . . . I am treated, not as an American citizen, but as a brute. . .Our wives and our daughters, our sisters and our mothers are subjected to the same insults and the same uncivilized treatment."[181]

178 "Interview with a Colored Member," *New National Era*, June 18, 1874, 3; Congressional Record, House, 43rd Cong., 1st session (19 December 1873), 344.

179 *Black Americans in Congress 1870-2007*.

180 "The Fifteenth Amendment in Flesh and Blood: The Symbolic Generation of Black Americans in Congress, 1870–1887," United States House of Representatives, accessed July 25, 2019, https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Essays/Fifteenth-Amendment/Introduction/.

181 Stanley Turkel, *Heroes of the American Reconstruction: Profile of Sixteen Educators, Politicians and Activists* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2005), 97.

Figure 6. John R. Lynch. U.S. House of Representatives from Mississippi 6th District (1873-1877 and 1882-1883). Courtesy of United States Congress.

A strong proponent of civil rights, Lynch was elected to three terms in the United States Congress. He delivered the keynote address at the Republican National Convention in 1884. Faced with increasing restrictions and racial discrimination in Mississippi, Lynch decided to study law. After passing the bar, he returned to Washington, DC to set up a law practice and became Robert H. Terrell's law partner.[182] Lynch later served as auditor of the treasury for the Navy Department and was appointed paymaster for the army by President William McKinley.

The 44th Congress (1875-77), included eight Black members, the greatest number sent to Congress. In addition to Josiah Walls, Blanche K. Bruce, Richard Cain, and Robert Smalls (44th, 45th, 47th, 48th and 49th Congresses) were elected to the U.S. Congress. Bruce was the second African American to serve in the Senate and the first elected to a full term. John R. Lynch returned for a second term. In Congress, Civil War hero Robert Smalls opposed racial discrimination in the armed forces and was against moving federal troops from the South.

Blanche K. Bruce, (44th, 45th, 46th Congresses) represented Mississippi for one full term as a U.S. Senator. Bruce was the first African American to serve a full six-year term in the U.S. Senate. After his marriage to Josephine Bruce, they became one of the most popular couples in Washington at the highest social rank. Josephine Bruce fulfilled her role as the senator's wife, entertaining Republican visitors, wives of cabinet members and congressmen at her Thursday receptions at their home and later at their elegantly renovated Victorian brownstone on

[182] Robert was Mary Church Terrell's husband.

M Street, NW. She and her husband attended Republican functions and White House gatherings. In 1882 Mrs. Bruce was chosen as Vice-President to lead the National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children. In 1893, she and Mary Church Terrell formed the Colored Woman's League.[183]

Senator Bruce later accepted an appointment by President James A. Garfield to be registrar of the U.S. Treasury, where he served until 1885. He was on the Board of Trustees for the D. C. Public School System and Howard University. In 1889, President Benjamin Harrison appointed Bruce Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia. He was reappointed registrar of the U.S. Treasury by President William McKinley, a position he retained until his death in 1898. His funeral was held at Metropolitan AME Church and he is buried at the now inactive Woodlawn Cemetery on Benning Road in southeast Washington, DC.[184] It would be another ninety years before another person of color would serve in the United States Senate.

The slow death of the Reconstruction was revealed when the 46th Congress convened in March 1879. Only one Black Senator was present, Blanche K. Bruce. John M. Langston was also elected to the 51st Congress as a state representative from Virginia. Historian Philip Dray called Langston "the most distinguished black member of Congress in the latter half of the century."[185] Langston, an astute politician, held numerous local and national positions. In 1869, he gave the keynote address at the First Colored National Labor Convention held in Washington, DC, "formed by African Americans to organize their labor collectively on a national level in the hopes of improving labor conditions." During 1870, Langston assisted Republican Senator Charles Sumner from Massachusetts with drafting the civil rights bill that was enacted as the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Perhaps the only African American of the 19th century more influential and prominent than John Mercer Langston was Frederick Douglass.[186]

Langston was an outspoken advocate of the designation of Lincoln's birthday as a holiday and of voting rights for African Americans. On the fifteenth day of March 1871, President U.S. Grant, "reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, diligence and discretion" of John M. Langston, appointed him a member of the Board of Health for the District of Columbia. Langston was an early diplomat. In 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes appointed Langston resident minister to

183 Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920*. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1990).

184 "Bruce, Blanche Kelso," History, Art and Archives, The United States House of Representatives, https://history.house.gov/People/Detail/10029.

185 Philip Dray, *Capitol Men: The Epic Story of Reconstruction Through the Lives of the First Black Congressmen* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008), 345.

186 Ibid.

Haiti and chargé d'affaires in Santo Domingo. He remained in the Washington, D.C. area and wrote his autobiography, *From the Virginia Plantation to the National Capital*, published in 1894.[187]

George Henry White (55th and 56th Congresses) was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from North Carolina in 1896 and reelected in 1898. White was educated at Howard University and studied medicine before transferring to the study of law in North Carolina. He was the only Black representative sworn in the 55th and 56th Congresses. George H. White would be the last congressman to serve for 28 years. In his farewell speech from Congress, White reflected on the "more than 30 years of broken promises made to African Americans," observing, "This, Mr. Chairman, is perhaps the [N]egroes' temporary farewell to the American Congress. But let me say, Phoenix-like he will rise up someday and come again."[188]

Many of the African American congressmen voted into office in the Reconstruction years sought to help ease the transition from enslavement to equal citizen. Fourteen Blacks sat in the U.S. House of Representatives between 1869 and 1877. No other Black was elected to the senate until 1966, when Edward W. Brooke III was elected from Massachusetts. Twenty Blacks served at least one term in the U.S. House of Representatives between 1869 and 1901 but far fewer Blacks held political office after 1877. By the 1880s, the use of violence, intimidation, and fear by whites had effectively disfranchised Blacks as southern whites managed to eliminate the push for political and social equality.[189]

The men who came to Washington were "all indelibly shaped by the institution of slavery" even as they "reshaped the political landscape" of America. For its study of Blacks in Congress, the U. S. House of Representatives found that the socially aware and politically engaged elected officials came to Washington to serve their constituents. They also shouldered a more comprehensive racial role and adhered to three broad primary goals: "providing education, enforcing political rights, and extending opportunities to enable economic independence" across the American racial divide.[190]

The African American Representatives symbolized a new democratic order in the United States. These men demonstrated not only unimaginable courage, but also

187 "Langston, John Mercer (1829-1897)," United States House of Representatives, accessed August 31, 2019, https://history.house.gov/People/Detail/16682.
188 *Black Americans in Congress*, 169.
189 Charles Christian, *Black Saga: The African American Experience: A Chronology* (New York: Civitas Books, 1998), 204.
190 *Black Americans in Congress*, 3.

relentless determination. They often braved elections marred by violence and fraud and were often greeted by hostile legislators when they arrived to take their seats in Congress. With nuance and tact, they balanced the needs of Black and White constituents in their Southern districts, and they argued passionately for legislation promoting racial equality.[191]

LOCAL POLITICS IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA

One immediate result of Reconstruction and the new amendments was the election of African Americans to state and local offices in some of the NCA counties. Seeking representation among delegates to state and national political conventions was a goal of most of the African American political organizations in the region. Blacks attended both their own Colored Conventions and constitutional conventions. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, secured the vote for America's Black men. They enthusiastically participated in all aspects of political life and fought for involvement in the major political parties although Radical Republicans maintained their influence in many of the NCA counties. Dozens of African Americans were elected to office, particularly across the South.

African Americans began testing their political power by protesting the District's public accommodations laws first by demanding equal access to streetcars during the Civil War. As early as the summer months of 1863, Black soldiers disputed exclusionary practices as they were being recruited to fight in the War.

When it involved the nation's capital, legislators could set aside constitutional questions about the limits of federal power and deliberate about the relationship between equality and the law on its own terms. Congressional debate pertaining to access to the city's streetcars by African Americans involved grappling with questions about the extent of basic civil rights as well as the role of legislation in protecting those rights.

In the intervening period, the willingness of Congress to act against racial discrimination on common carriers in the capital became clear. Since the District was under the control of Congress, Senator Sumner requested that the United States Congress allow African Americans the same railroad privileges as whites. In a year, Blacks and whites were allowed the same seats on streetcars in Washington, D.C. In 1863, when the charter of the Washington and Alexandria Railroad was renewed, it contained a provision presented by Sumner and adopted with little debate that required that "no person shall be excluded from the cars on

191 "The Fifteenth Amendment in Flesh and Blood: The Symbolic Generation of Black Americans in Congress, 1870–1887," United States House of Representatives, https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Essays/Fifteenth-Amendment/Introduction.

account of color."[192] Then, in the 1864 discussion of the Metropolitan Railroad Company's charter, Sumner introduced a clause prohibiting "exclusion of colored persons from the equal employment of all railroad privileges in the District of Columbia."[193] However, more than thirty years later, in line with the "separate but equal" clause of the Plessy v Ferguson ruling that would follow, the capital's one streetcar line inaugurated segregated cars for Black riders. These were the antecedents to the public accommodations movement which proved crucial in the mid-20th century Civil Rights movement.

Simultaneously, newly arrived freed people as well as Black northerners and long-term residents, cutting across multiple spheres and using a variety of tactics, pressed the government to define civil equality as broadly as possible. This combination of Black activism and Republican experimentation moved the capital to the forefront of the Reconstruction experiment with racial equality.

PASSAGE OF THE DISTRICT CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS

On January 8, 1867, the U.S. Congress passed legislation, over President Andrew Johnson's veto, which would provide suffrage to Blacks in the District of Columbia. This was the first law in U.S. history that made the ballot available to African American men but Johnson believed that each state must enfranchise its own citizens.[194] With passage of the new legislation, Washington City demonstrated the progressive spirit of a new and hopeful era. By June of that year *Harper's Weekly* reported that African American citizens "assisted in the municipal election." An African American man was "one of the judges at one of the polling places." Newspapers reported that much of Washington's Black population "appeared to appreciate their new-found rights." Black male voters "gathered in long lines before the polling places. They began coming as early as two o'clock on the morning of the election, and were willing to wait patiently" to exercise their right as new citizens for an opportunity to vote. Although many had entered the line before sunrise, they did not get the chance to cast their ballots until shortly before the polls closed. According to the *Baltimore Sun*, Washington's Black population turned out in force and continually blocked up the way. Few Whites chose to vote, and the Republican ticket was elected by a large majority."[195]

192 "An Act to Extend the Charter of the Alexandria and Washington Railroad Company, and for Other Purposes," *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 12:805. See also Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, 179. Aspects of this legislative history are described in Maltz, "Separate but Equal." For background on early streetcar routes and fares, see King, *100 Years of Capital Traction*, 3-8.

193 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 101.

194 *Black Saga*, 220.

195 LETTER FROM WASHINGTON: Correspondence of *The Baltimore Sun, The Sun* May 31, 1867; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Sun 4 as cited in Karis Lee, The 1868 Mayoral Election, African American Vote, and Riots That Followed, Boundary Stones, accessed March 24, 2021, WETA, https://boundarystones.weta.org/2020/03/12/1868-mayoral-election-African American-vote-and-riots-followed; Schneider, Richard, *African American*

In 1868, John F. Cook, Jr., prominent son of Presbyterian minister and educator John F. Cook, Sr, became a member of the board of alderman by which the city was governed.[196] By 1869, Masur observes that even before the granting of Black men's enfranchisement had passed, Congress, businessmen, and wealthy "old citizens" were already discussing the possibility of reorganizing government in the capital with the intention of diminishing voters' power. The consolidation movement, made up of both Republicans and Democrats, claimed that the three existing municipal governments: Washington City, Georgetown, and the county's Levy Court, were unmanageable and wasteful. They considered Washington's government hopelessly mismanaged and debt-ridden and apparently substantial truth accompanied those assertions.

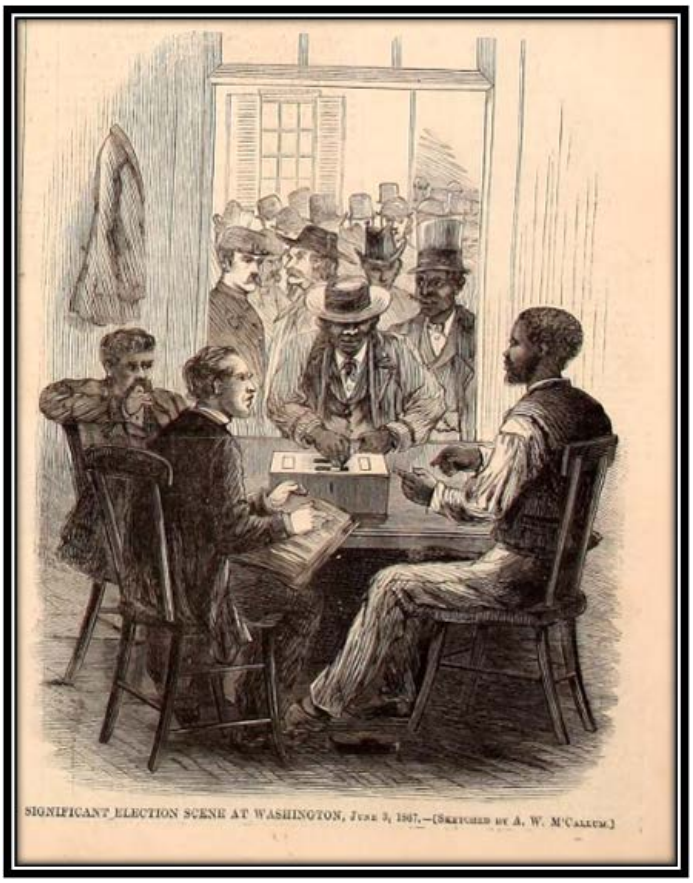


Figure 7. Significant Election Scene at Washington, June 3, 1867. *Harpers Weekly*, June 22, 1867

The movement to consolidate the District's three governing entities did not meet with immediate success, however. Consolidation advocates complained of the weakening influence of the white majority—although not in those words—under the current system of government. The other side of the argument focused on

History in the Press, Volume 1, Gale Research, 1996, 492-3, 496; Harpers Weekly, June 22, 1867, 397-98.

196 John F. Cook Dead, *Evening Star* (Washington, District of Columbia), January 21, 1910.

the perceived negative effects of Black men's voting rights. They had experienced the results of the elections of 1869. Republicans were in control and Black men occupied posts at every level of public life covering every ward. Republicans again turned to John F. Cook, Jr., nominating and electing him register of wills.[197]

Eventually, this growing political power would lead Congress to strip the District of its local government for a century out of fear that Black leadership would "Africanize the city," and turn it into a "[N]egro Utopia."[198] Finally, in February 1871, in the first step of a two-stage process, a Republican-controlled Congress turned the District of Columbia into a federal territory to be governed principally by appointed officials. Transforming the District of Columbia into the territorial government was the mechanism by which voters were disenfranchised. The surviving elective offices were in the House of Delegates and a nonvoting representative in the U. S. House of Representatives.[199]

Solomon G. Brown had served three terms as a Republican member of the House of Delegates for Washington D.C. from 1871-1874 representing Anacostia and Barry Farm/Hillsdale. In 1874 this political experiment in the District ended and the territorial government was replaced with three White presidentially appointed commissioners. "Newly acquired suffrage was swept away by the disenfranchisement of the District in 1874." The change effectively ended Brown's political participation and the participation of other Black men in local government in the District until well into the 20th century. According to Brown, the act was influenced by the fact that Negroes comprised one fourth of the population.[200]

Yet the consolidators' preferred method for solving the African American voting patterns that they perceived as problematic--the creation of a government run almost exclusively by presidential appointees—suggests another important facet of their critique, according to Masur. The consolidators' coalition of Republicans and Democrats was organized around a "shared contempt for black men's newly acquired political power." Masur's analysis of this period reveals that some among those who favored consolidation directly blamed African American voters for Washington's problems.[201]

197 Howard Gillette, Jr., *Between Justice and Beauty: Race, Planning, and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington, D.C.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.)

198 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 194; Chris Myers Asch and George Derek Musgrove, *Chocolate City: A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation's Capital* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press), 143

199 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 207.

200 Ibid., 177-78.

201 *Federal Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration*, Washington, City and Capital (Washington: 1937), 78; Masur, An Example for All the Land, 194.

Masur centers analysis of the movement's demand for a government run by presidential appointees in the racial context of Reconstruction. The consolidators sought to dismantle the biracial government, as an effort to "redeem" the District from what its members considered the excesses of Reconstruction. Others avoided the issue of race by emphasizing efficiency and infrastructure improvements instead. But in the end, they attacked and undermined the Black electorate of Washington, D.C. by insisting on the rights of "taxpayers" and control by "intelligent" Washingtonians.[202]

The immediate unpopularity of the territorial government quickly surfaced. Black voters steadfastly opposed the consolidation; they recognized it for what it was—a direct strategy for depriving them of their vote. When Congress created a unified territorial government for a consolidated District of Columbia, George Vashon, Howard University's first professor and a Freedmen's Bureau official, condemned the movement as "a base plot, designed to defraud the eight thousand freedmen therein of the elective franchise, and cheat them of their newborn freedom."[203]

When Washington briefly became a federal territory in 1871, African American men continued to make important decisions for the city. In an effort to challenge racial inequality in the capital city, however, the City Council declared "Why he is black and we white, or why we the superior and he the inferior race are matters past our comprehension." One historian phrased the Council's sentiments more bluntly; "as a superior race, white man must rule Blacks."[204]

Much to the dismay of Democrats, President Grant appointed only Republicans to the new government and bipartisanism seemed to evaporate. Grant appointed three Black men, including Frederick Douglass, who had recently moved to the city after his Rochester home was destroyed by fire, to the upper house of the territorial legislature and Howard University law professor John Mercer Langston, as legal counsel to the territorial Board of Health. Democrats complained that too many African Americans had been appointed to the new government. Douglass stayed only a few months before his son Lewis filled his position. The territory's first election yielded a two-thirds Republican majority in the House of Delegates. The election results served as a reminder to Democrats of their weak political position which would likely be their political future as long as the White electorate divided their votes between the two parties.[205]

202 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 194.

203 Asch and George Derek Musgrove, *Chocolate City: A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation's Capital* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press), 160.

204 Brett R. Roach, Prejudice Against Blacks Freed in Post-Civil War Washington. *Negro History Bulletin Vol. 48, No 1* (Jan. Feb. Mar. 1985), 3-6, 3.

205 Richard Brownell, Frederick Douglass's Career in D.C. Government, Boundary Stones, WETA's Local History Blog, accessed March 31, 2020, https://blogs.weta.org/boundar-

f the District of Columbia; and in the
sidential Elector-at-large for the State
ssenger for conveying the official vote
WASHINGTON, D. C.—FREDERICK DOUGLASS, THE NEW MARSHAL OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.
were afterwards safely landed—with
captain and a few of the men, who re
and furnished accommodations in the
WASHINGTON, D. C.—THE NEW ADMINISTRATION—COLORED CITIZENS PAYING THEIR RESPECTS TO MARSHAL FREDERICK DOUGLASS, IN HIS OFFICE AT THE CITY HALL.—SKETCHED BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST.

Figure 8. Washington, D.C., The New Administration—Colored Citizens Paying Their Respects to Marshall Frederick Douglass, in His Office at the City Hall, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, April 7, 1877 (LOC).

Other important leaders in the city included Charles Douglass, also Frederick Douglass's son, who also held elective office during a brief period of home rule in the 1870s. Lewis Douglass sponsored legislation outlawing racial discrimination by restaurants, theaters and hotels. While serving as a member of the District's Legislative Council, Lewis Douglass introduced an 1871 bill. The law was intended to relieve the continued discrimination and regulate restaurant, saloon and soda fountain keepers and to ensure equality under the law as it pertained to obtaining food and lodging at public accommodations. John H. Brooks succeeded Lewis Douglass and strengthened the Act by addressing several loopholes. The Bill required that restaurant owners and hotel proprietors print their bill of fare clearly showing the prices generally charged in order to relieve or eliminate the arbitrary and discriminatory nature of pricing policies directed toward Blacks in the nation's capital.[206]

In 1872, Lewis H. Douglass introduced the law that made segregation in public accommodations illegal. In 1874, Congress replaced the District's quasi-elected territorial government with an appointed three-member Board of Commissioners, in part because of the growing political power of Washington's Black population. The three presidentially appointed commissioners replaced the territorial government. The commissioner system survived until the Civil Rights Movement of the

ystones/2016/02/18/frederick-douglasss-career-dc-government; Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 217.

206 James Huntington Whyte, *The Uncivil War: Washington During the Reconstruction, 1865-1878* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1958), 243.

1960s brought a measure of self-government. Direct rule by Congress ended with the District of Columbia Home Rule act of in 1973.[207]

As political support for Reconstruction waned, AME Bishop John Mifflin Brown of Israel AME worked with Frederick Douglass in Washington and with others to push for the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. According to historian Willard B. Gatewood, with the Supreme Court ruling the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional, Blacks were well aware of the tangible movement to thwart the ambitions and aspirations of the country's newest citizens. As late as 1892, a year before his death and suffering from an illness, J. M. Brown nevertheless advocated for political independence for the nation's newest citizens and urged his people to participate in the fruits of their hard-won political battles and vote.[208]

Frederick Douglass would go on to be among the first Blacks to receive a major government appointment in the United States. Between 1870 and 1895, Douglass held five appointive offices, including being appointed Marshal of the District of Columbia by President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877. He went on to be appointed Recorder of Deeds in 1881.[209] Other local politicians rose to varying levels of success. Following Senator Blanche Bruce's defeat for reelection to the Senate in 1880, he was able to secure appointments in Washington from Republican presidents. In 1881 he became Register of the Treasury and was Recorder of Deeds for the District in 1889. By 1891 he ranked among the senior Black officials in Washington, serving the Republican National Committee under Grover Cleveland. As with other parts of the country, the declining race relations in Washington, D. C. reverberated across the country during the 1880s, leading to a decline in Bruce's social and political power. Lastly, he came back to his position as Register of the Treasury in 1897.[210]

AFRICAN AMERICAN SUFFRAGE AND NEW STATE CONSTITUTIONS

VIRGINIA

Between the Civil War and the first years of the twentieth century, African Americans were deeply involved in Virginia politics. With the abolition of slavery African American men began lobbying for their full rights as citizens. As early as

207 Marya Annette McQuirter, A Brief History of African Americans in Washington, DC, Cultural Tourism DC, accessed July 8, 2019, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/a-brief-history-of-African Americans-in-washington-dc.

208 Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color*, 35-37; William Seraile, *Fire in His Heart: Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner and the AME Church* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998); Bishop J. M. Brown, *The Tennessean* (Nashville, Tennessee) March 17, 1893, 2.

209 David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018).

210 Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color*, 35-37.

1865, White Virginians who had supported the Union cause began to realize that confederate politics and former confederates would easily win elections unless the Black man was allowed to vote. No member of the General Assembly advocated amending the state Constitution to grant the vote to African Americans, however. Governor Pierpont, meanwhile, was opposed to allowing African Americans to vote because many of those once held in slavery had been legislated into illiteracy in Virginia and, he believed, therefore not competent to take part in the political process. Although the Fourteenth Amendment had passed in June of 1866, the Virginia General Assembly almost unanimously voted to reject the amendment.

In March of 1867, Congress, through the Reconstruction Acts, imposed martial law on Virginia and the other states of the former Confederacy, requiring that each state adopt a new state constitution. The Commonwealth comprised the First Military District under military reconstruction and had been held under military rule. According to historian Richard Hume, "because the Virginia [Constitutional] Convention assembled relatively early in a key former Confederate state close to the national capital, its activities were followed closely by members of Congress, who often found their attitudes toward Reconstruction influenced considerably by developments in Richmond."[211] Democrats and conservative Republicans carried the elections in Virginia. It was, therefore, the only rebel state never to have a Republican government during Reconstruction.[212]

Congress stipulated that when the army conducted elections for members of the constitutional conventions, it must permit African American men to vote and to run for seats in the convention. In most cities and counties White men voted overwhelmingly against holding the convention at all, and Black men voted overwhelmingly in favor. Three hundred Republicans, largely African Americans, began to express their political will and social concerns. Three primary issues emerged through the resolutions they adopted: equal political and legal rights and free public schools.[213]

The first election in which Black men voted and where those votes were counted in Virginia was for delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1867–1868.

[211] Hume, Richard L. "The Membership of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1867-1868: A Study of the Beginnings of Congressional Reconstruction in the Upper South." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 86, no. 4 (1978): 461-84, 462. Accessed March 24, 2020. JSTOR. www.jstor.org/stable/4248257.

[212] *The Code of Virginia*, 1849 (Richmond: William F. Ritchie, 1849), 747, accessed August 31, 2019, https://books.google.com/books?id=p1BRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA747&lpg=PA747#v=onepage&q&f=false; Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration of the State of Virginia, *The Negro in Virginia* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1994).

[213] Hume, Richard L. "The Membership of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1867-1868: A Study of the Beginnings of Congressional Reconstruction in the Upper South." The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 86, no. 4 (1978): 461-84. Accessed March 24, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/4248257.

Twenty-four Black men helped draft and shape the Virginia Constitution. A majority of Black delegates voted against allowing former Confederates back into politics. White Republicans were divided on the question, with some favoring the move as a gesture of reconciliation. Moreover, almost all Black men voted for candidates who favored making significant reforms to the old state constitution, while most White voters opposed those candidates. As a result, men who supported radical reform won a majority of seats in the convention. Among them were two dozen African Americans, many of whom had lived in slavery until the spring of 1865. The new Constitution was considered a "progressive document" which enfranchised the freedmen.[214]

On Election Day, October 22, 1867, a significant number of registered White voters refused to take part and African Americans actually cast more votes than White men by a considerable margin. During those years, virtually all African American men active in Virginia politics aligned with the Republican Party, though their degree of radicalism fluctuated. Between 1867 and 1895, nearly 100 Black Virginians elected to office had served in the Constitutional Convention of 1867–1868 or in the two houses of the General Assembly. Many of them had grown up in slavery, but some had been free before the Civil War, and others came of age afterward. Some of the members of the Convention had little or no education, but by the 1880s most of the legislators were educated and well qualified. A few had very successful political careers, served their local electorate in the assembly for several terms, and became influential leaders in the Republican Party.[215] Some Black politicians were more radical than others, but generally advocated civil rights for African Americans, access to free public schools, and a refinancing of the state's large pre-war debt. African American women were active behind the scenes, particularly when the campaigns supported public schools.[216]

The year 1869 marked the first occasion Blacks were permitted to vote in a general election in Virginia, the first state election held after ratification of the new constitution. Many white men who opposed Congressional Reconstruction decided not to register, while others were still legally unable to register and vote because of their former Confederate allegiance. Prior to the election in Virginia, 105,832 African American men registered, and cast nearly 93,145 votes of the 225,000 ballots.[217] Of the 138 delegates sent to the Virginia lower house, eighteen

214 Ibid.; WPA, *The Negro in Virginia*.

215 Ibid.

216 African Americans in Politics in Virginia (1865-1902), *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, accessed August 27, 2019, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/african_americans_and_politics_in_virginia_1865-1902.

217 Monroe N. Work, Thomas S. Staples, H. A. Wallace, Kelly Miller, Whitefield McKinlay, Samuel E. Lacy, R. L. Smith and H. R. McIlwaine, "Some Negro Members of Reconstruction Conventions and Legislatures and of Congress," *Journal of Negro History*, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/African_Americans_and_Politics_in_Virginia_1865-1902#start_entry;

Black Radical candidates and three Black Conservatives were elected. George L. Seaton of Alexandria's Hayti community became the first African American on the Virginia General Assembly. He served from 1869 to 1871 and devoted his position to advancing life for the Black community and breaking racial barriers.[218] Of the forty-three Virginia state senators elected six were Black Radical Republicans but none were from the NCA.

Ship carpenter Richard Lyles and grocer William Harris, both African American leaders, served as politicians and as educators as well as successful businessmen. They led Alexandria's Union Town School and the Primary School both of which opened in 1863. As was frequently the case, the leadership roles of these men transected boundaries. Richard H. Lyles served as a delegate representing the 4th Ward at the County Convention of the Radical Party in 1869. Lyles, a property owner prior to the Civil War, served on the Committee of Credentials.

Alfred W. Harris served the House of Delegates from 1881-1888, although he did not represent any of the counties in the NCA. He was nevertheless an active leader in the Alexandria community and descended from a very large family of Harrises from Fairfax and Prince William Counties. He was born in Fairfax County, educated in Alexandria public schools and was awarded a law degree from Howard University in 1881.[219]

Early in 1879, the Readjusters' state leader, former Confederate general William Mahone, called for a state convention that formally created the Readjuster Party. He invited all men, regardless of their race. By bringing African Americans into the Readjuster Party, Mahone, who had once been a conspicuous opponent of Radical Reconstruction, took the lead in forming the biracial political party that appealed directly to the interests of voters regardless of race or prior partisan affiliations. Both white and African American delegates from more than sixty counties met in Richmond on February 25–26, 1879, to establish the Readjuster Party. The Black delegates, most of whom were Republicans, were solidly for the Readjusters.

"The First Vote, Engraving Published in Harper's Weekly, 1867," DBVa, Library of Virginia, accessed March 18, 2020, https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/dbva/items/show/102.

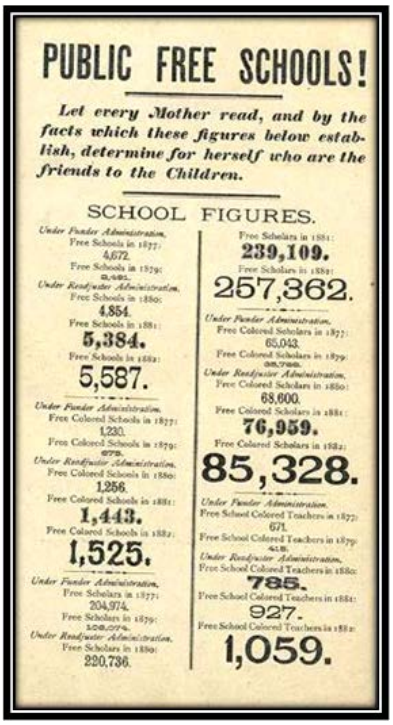
218 George Lewis Seaton House, Alexandria Virginia Walking Tour, https://www.theclio.com/tour/947/26/reverse

219 Luther Porter Jackson, *Negro Office Holders in Virginia 1865-1895* (Norfolk, Va.: Guide quality press, 19451946) https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015014725082&view=1up&seq=5;.African American Historic Resources of Alexandria, VA, Multiple Property Documentation Form, NPS, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015_AfricanAmericanHistoricResourcesOfAlexandria_2003_NR_nomination_MPD.pdf; *Alexandria Gazette*, Volume 70, Number 55, 3 March 1869, 3, accessed March 24, 2021, https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=AG18690303.1.3&e=-------en-20--1--txt-txIN--------.

Formal participation of African Americans in Virginia politics after the Civil War may have peaked in 1881, when the Readjusters dominated statewide offices, taking control of both houses of the assembly. Strong support from Black male voters helped the Readjusters win all the statewide offices that year in addition to greater majorities in the Assembly. Many of the newly enacted reform measures by the Assembly benefited African Americans directly. Particularly, funding for the public schools was restored and a new state superintendent of public instruction appointed. Most of the county and city school superintendents in the state were replaced with men more interested in and sympathetic to the education of African Americans. The assembly established Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute later known as Virginia State University in Petersburg, the state's first public college for African Americans. The support and political leadership of African American voters helped make those achievements a reality.

Reconstruction legislation served to reinforce gender differences by elevating men's claims to political rights, while continuing to sublimate those of women. Despite the gendered political realities of Reconstruction, African American women were steadfast in their deep interest in the political developments of the Commonwealth. Evidence of their participation in non-electoral politics remains to be further explored, but education had been on the minds of African American men and women for decades. Where Black churches had taken the lead to ensure the education of their congregants, the importance of the public schools occupied the attention of African American women more directly, some of whom were employed as teachers and many of whom were mothers.[220]

[220] Catherine A. Jones, "Women, Gender, and the Boundaries of Reconstruction;" *Journal of the Civil War Era*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (March 2018), 111-131; Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in Transition from Slavery to Freedom," *Political Culture 7* (1994): 107-46.



PUBLIC FREE SCHOOLS!

Let every Mother read, and by the facts which these figures below establish, determine for herself who are the friends to the Children.

SCHOOL FIGURES.

Under Funder Administration.
Free Schools in 1877:
4,672.
Free Schools in 1879:
2,481.
Under Readjuster Administration.
Free Schools in 1880:
4,854.
Free Schools in 1881:
5,384.
Free Schools in 1882:
5,587.

Under Funder Administration.
Free Colored Schools in 1877:
1,230.
Free Colored Schools in 1879:
679.
Under Readjuster Administration.
Free Colored Schools in 1880:
1,256.
Free Colored Schools in 1881:
1,443.
Free Colored Schools in 1882:
1,525.

Under Funder Administration.
Free Scholars in 1877:
204,974.
Free Scholars in 1879:
168,077.
Under Readjuster Administration.
Free Scholars in 1880:
220,736.
Free Scholars in 1881:
239,109.
Free Scholars in 1882:
257,362.

Under Funder Administration.
Free Colored Scholars in 1877:
65,043.
Free Colored Scholars in 1879:
58,788.
Under Readjuster Administration.
Free Colored Scholars in 1880:
68,600.
Free Colored Scholars in 1881:
76,959.
Free Colored Scholars in 1882:
85,328.

Under Funder Administration.
Free School Colored Teachers in 1877:
671.
Free School Colored Teachers in 1879:
418.
Under Readjuster Administration.
Free School Colored Teachers in 1880:
785.
Free School Colored Teachers in 1881:
927.
Free School Colored Teachers in 1882:
1,059.

Figure 9. **Public Free Schools Poster. Education and politics were closely entwined, and Black women involved themselves in the schools and education for their children and families. Source: https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/media_player?mets_filename=evr9713mets.xml**

In an effort to motivate those women to influence the voting men in their families, the Readjuster Party made their appeal to them directly. A broadside evidently printed and circulated during the election campaign in 1883 entitled "Public Free Schools!" offers an example of that appeal. The circular listed the numbers of "Free Colored Schools, Free Colored Scholars," and "Free Colored Teachers" active when the funders, who were against any reduction of the state debt, controlled the government in 1877 and 1879 which they contrasted to the increase after the Readjusters took control in 1880 and 1882. The Readjusters worked to refinance, or "readjust" the pre-Civil War public debt. The Library of Virginia, in an online exhibit, observed that a clever printer had "set the numbers in varying sizes of type to highlight the contrast between the funders' low support for public education and the increases that the Readjusters made." African American women, the write-up inferred, were the primary audience for the campaign handout based on the text immediately below the title: "Let every Mother read, and by the facts which these figures below establish, determine for herself who are the friends to the Children."[221]

African American voters contributed significantly to both the success of the Readjusters and to an increase in the number of voters on the Republican presidential candidate's rolls during the remainder of the decade. The Readjusters were never

[221] "Free Public Schools," The Library of Virginia, accessed March 10, 2020, https://www.lva.virginia.gov/exhibits/destiny/public_opinion/schools.htm.

a Black-majority party, as their opponents charged, or under the direction of their Black supporters or of Republicans. Many White men eagerly supported the Readjusters, too, and some adopted more egalitarian attitudes as opposed to most White Virginians.

African Americans voters began to decline, with the numbers who won election to the General Assembly falling from eight in 1884 to six in 1885, a rise by one to seven in 1887, and then falling back to four in 1889.[222] In 1888, John Mercer Langston won an election for the U.S. House of Representatives after he contested the election results because of voter intimidation and fraud. These few would be the last Black legislators in Virginia until 1968. Although he did not represent the NCA, Langston was the first African American from Virginia to serve in Congress and remained the only one to serve at the national level until 1993.[223]

ELECTED AND APPOINTED OFFICIALS IN THE NCA

VIRGINIA

Alexandria County[224]

George Lewis Seaton, a member of the House of Delegates, was born free early in the 1820s in Alexandria, which then was a part of the District of Columbia until 1847. In October 1866, Seaton, like so many other African Americans during that time, entered into a contract with the Bureau for Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands to build a school for freed people. In April 1867 his name was listed by Bureau agents, along with eight others, as "reliable" African Americans. Two months later, a local Freedmen's Bureau agent described Seaton as "very much interested in the welfare of the colored people here." In June Seaton received a contract to construct a second school and to provide two hundred desks and eight tables for each. He was a trustee of the First Free School Society of Alexandria, which raised about $1,600 in the African American community to purchase the two lots where the new schools were constructed.[225]

Seaton continued his political activism. In April 1867, he attended the Republican Party meeting along with hundreds of other Black delegates. One of six African

222 African Americans in Politics in Virginia (1865-1902), *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, accessed August 27, 2019, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/African_Americans_and_Politics_in_Virginia_1865-1902#start_entry.

223 African Americans in Politics in Virginia (1865-1902), *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, accessed August 27, 2019, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/african_americans_and_politics_in_virginia_1865-1902.

224 The city of Alexandria was separated from Alexandria County in 1870 when it was incorporated as an independent city. Arlington County did not come into existence until 1920.

225 Andrew Winfree, George Lewis Seaton 1822-1881: Master Carpenter-Civic Leader-Property Owner, *Footprints of African Americans in Alexandria* (Trafford International, 2019).

American men appointed by Judge John Curtiss Underwood, Seaton was sworn to the grand jury for the United States Circuit Court for the District of Virginia located in Norfolk on May 6, 1867. Seaton sat on what is likely the first interracial jury in Virginia and was serving on the court when Jefferson Davis and other confederate officials were indicted for high treason. (President Andrew Johnson later granted Davis amnesty.)

At Virginia's election held under military rule on July 6, 1869, voters ratified the new state constitution and elected members of the legislature. Seaton was elected to one of Alexandria's two seats in the House of Delegates, receiving 1,807 votes of about 3,500 cast. In October 1869, Seaton voted to ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution as required by Congress before Virginia could be readmitted to the United States. During the two sessions that met in 1870 and in 1870–1871, Seaton sat on the Committee of Schools and Colleges and on the Committee on Banks, Currency and Commerce. In 1870 the General Assembly approved a bill creating the state's first public school system. Fighting to secure their equal rights of citizenship, Seaton and most of the African American delegates had attempted to strike out the requirement that schools be racially segregated. After their measure was overwhelmingly defeated, he joined other bold legislators in casting a symbolic vote against passage of the school bill that he almost certainly favored.[226] Seaton lost his bid for reelection in 1871 but continued to be active in party politics for another decade, attending local and state conventions, and was named an alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1872. Three years later he declined election to the party's executive committee in Alexandria.

As a master carpenter Seaton constructed, repaired, and enlarged numerous houses and local structures, including municipal buildings and Odd Fellows Hall (listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2004). In 1872 he chaired a meeting that called for the establishment in the city of a branch of the Freedman's Savings Bank and Trust Company, and he was later named to its advisory board. Seaton also operated a grocery store on King Street for several years between 1868 and 1875. Until his death, Seaton remained a strong supporter of Alexandria's public schools throughout his life and was a trustee, and sometimes president, of the Colored Public School Building Association. He was a member and deacon of Alfred Street Baptist Church and the founding president of a Young Men's Christian Association chapter for African Americans in 1873. The George Lewis Seaton House was added to the Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register of Historic Places in 2003 and 2004, respectively.[227]

[226] Winfree, George Lewis Seaton 1822-1881.
[227] Marianne E. Julienne, George Lewis Seaton, *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, Library of

John B. Syphax, son of Arlington's Maria Carter Syphax and Charles Syphax, ranked among the important officeholders in Arlington County. Syphax served on the Board of Supervisors (1872), Clerk of the Court (1872), Virginia House of Delegates (1874-1875), County Treasurer (1875-1879) and Justice of the Peace (1879). Among other elected officials, Civil War veteran William H. Butler served as the Commissioner of Roads (1879), Surveyor of Roads in Arlington Magisterial District throughout the 1880s, Supervisor for Arlington Magisterial District and Superintendent of the Poor. Henry Louis Holmes was elected Commissioner of the Revenue for the County (1875) and served continuously for nearly thirty years. William Rowe was appointed a Special Police for the County (1869) and Clerk of Elections (1870). He was elected a member of the Board of Supervisors (1871) and became Chairman of the Board (1872) and was elected Superintendent of the Poor for the County (1883).[228]

Robert Davis Ruffin had been enslaved by Alexander Fleet, a former member of the House of Delegates. Around the time of his twentieth birthday in 1862, Ruffin escaped. Ruffin attended a colored convention in Alexandria, August 2–5, 1865, and two years later he may have campaigned as Black men prepared to vote in the state for the first time to elect members of a state constitutional convention. In 1871 Ruffin moved to Washington, D.C., where that summer a local politician appointed him clerk on a road project. Speaking out at Republican Party events eventually cost him his job. He then unsuccessfully sought the Republican nomination to the District's short-lived House of Delegates. Finding his path to elective office in Washington blocked, Ruffin moved to Alexandria (later Arlington) County by May 1873. The county's Republican Party nominated him for sheriff. In 1874 voters in Alexandria County elected him sheriff, possibly the first African American to hold the position in state history, but he resigned due to rising pressure over his residency. Ruffin assumed office on January 1, 1874, the first or one of the earliest African American sheriffs in Virginia's history according to Washington and Virginia newspapers. Later in the spring, Ruffin won election as one of five Alexandria city magistrates. After representing other Virginia counties in the House of Delegates, Ruffin later resettled in Washington, D.C., by July 1876 and resumed practicing law.[229]

Virginia, accessed March 20, 2020, http://mlkcommission.dls.virginia.gov/lincoln/pdfs/bios/seaton_george_lewis.pdf.

228 A Guide to the African American Heritage in Arlington County Virginia. Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, Second edition 2016, accessed July 10, 2019, https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.pdf.

229 African American Legislators in Virginia, Virginia General Assembly, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Commission, http://mlkcommission.dls.virginia.gov/lincoln/african_americans.html; Matthew S. Gottlieb, *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, R. D. Ruffin (1842-1916), Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities, accessed March 19, 2020, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Ruffin_Robert_D_1842-1916.

Fairfax County

Alfred William Harris was born enslaved in 1853 in Fairfax County. His family moved to Alexandria during the Civil War. In Alexandria he was able to attend a Freedmen's Bureau school and later attended the city's first segregated public schools. After winning a seat on the Alexandria Common Council as a 20-year-old, he served one year in 1875. In February 1880, the Alexandria corporation court admitted Harris to practice law, and the following year he earned his law degree from Howard University. In the spring of 1880, state Republicans selected Harris as a candidate for presidential elector. That July, he attended a public meeting in Richmond at which many of the city's leading African Americans issued an appeal to the city school board to hire Black teachers for the Black schools and to equalize courses of instruction for Black and White students.[230] Harris introduced the bill that chartered Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute during his time in the House of Delegates (1881–1888) although he did not represent the NCA at that time.[231]

Loudoun County

African Americans from Loudoun County did not participate in Virginia's constitutional conventions in the 1860s, nor was an African American elected in Loudoun County to serve in the General Assembly, but the delegates did elect two dozen Black men to represent them. Loudoun County representatives sent White men from the Conservative Party to the state constitutional conventions.

Whenever feasible, African Americans in Loudoun County looked to advance their interests by working inside the Republican Party. An article from an 1889 edition of the Washington newspaper, *The Leader*, reported on the convention of the Colored Republicans of the Eighth Congressional District. Their purpose was to elect delegates to represent the district at the National Colored Convention in Washington, D.C. Representing Loudoun at the District convention were George H. Russ, Robert Jordan, and Isaiah Allen.[232]

When the Colored Citizens of Loudoun County met with the Judge of the County Court of Loudoun in 1883, they pointed out that at the start of their journey out of slavery, "they began as a people comparatively without property, without the

230 Alfred Harris, Encyclopedia of Virginia, accessed March 20, 2020, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Harris_Alfred_W_1853-1920#start_entryA.

231 Michael Woods, "Harris, Alfred W. (1853–1920)" *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, (12 Feb. 2021), accessed March 22, 2021, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Harris_Alfred_W_1853-1920.

232 Robert A. Pollard, Editor, Report of the Loudoun County Heritage Commission: The History of the County Courthouse and its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice and Racial Equality in Loudoun County, March 1, 2019. https://loudoun.granicus.com/MetaViewer.php?view_id=79&clip_id=5918&meta_id=161436.

means of acquiring it and business capacity to manage it. Then we were uneducated and but few of us could read or write." Their conditions, they were quick to recognize, and the changing times in the twenty years that had elapsed since the end of slavery, had improved. "Our children are being educated, and knowledge is supplanting ignorance, and the many little homes show we are acquiring property." As a result, they became more civic minded, and interested in all that promoted peace, prosperity and general welfare in society. Loudoun County citizens were proclaiming their readiness as citizens to assume greater civic duties and responsibilities. "For twenty years we have been trying to qualify ourselves for the duties of citizenship." They proclaimed their desire in the future for "a fuller recognition of our rights and privileges which the laws of the land have guaranteed to us; hence we respectfully petition your Honor in the future, to recognize our rights, to serve as Jurors and Judges of Election." The Judge granted their Petition with the exception of the right of being Judges of elections. The Judge said he did not know whether the Petitioners, "the colored people, had any right to ask to be appointed judges of election," but the petitioners thought that they had that right too. Their right to serve on juries or as election judges was never enforced. As historian Wynne Saffer observed, "A society that had treated [N]egroes as property in 1860 was slow to accept them as equal citizens after the war." Acceptance for social equality was still being fought for by Loudoun County Blacks in 1966.[233]

In 1873, V. Cook Nickens, a Leesburg barber, became the first elected Black official, serving for a year as district constable of Leesburg Magisterial District. In September 1876, as the Radical Republican stand was wavering, Loudoun County Blacks held meetings in Leesburg where they discussed the history of slavery and criticized the policies of the conservative Democratic Party as "detrimental to the welfare of the colored man."[234]

That same year, Leesburg's *Mirror* mentioned an African American political group calling themselves "The Invincible Republican Club of Leesburg, Virginia."[235] African Americans in Loudoun County acknowledged their indebtedness to the Republican Party for their freedom and rights. But, when the new citizens felt

[233] Wynne Saffer, "Loudoun Votes: A Civil War Legacy;" Robert A. Pollard, Editor, Report of the Loudoun County Heritage Commission: The History of the County Courthouse and its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice and Racial Equality in Loudoun County, March 1, 2019, https://loudoun.granicus.com/MetaViewer.php?view_id=79&clip_id=5918&meta_id=161436; A Colored Mass Meeting, Mirror, May 17, 1883, accessed July 25, 2019, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/559ec31fe4b0550458945194/t/563e41e7e4b07fc6089c5d37/1446920679537/LC+Meeting+to+Sit+on+Juries.pdf.

[234] Robert A. Pollard, Editor, Report of the Loudoun County Heritage Commission: The History of the County Courthouse and its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice and Racial Equality in Loudoun County, accessed March 1, 2019, https://loudoun.granicus.com/MetaViewer.php?view_id=79&clip_id=5918&meta_id=161436.

[235] Timeline of Important Events in African American History in Loudoun County, Virginia, The History of Loudoun County, Virginia, accessed March 1, 2019, http://www.loudounhistory.org/history/African American-chronology/.

excluded from the local White Republican proceedings, they did not hesitate to form the Invincible Republican Club. With the motto "May God help us to be invincible," ex-Confederates considered the Club a "menace to the white people." Sheetz, the editor of *The Mirror*, also criticized the Club as ungrateful to the White community because they held their meetings in a chapel that had been mostly constructed by Democrats.[236]

Between 1887 and 1888, William H. Ash, born enslaved in Loudoun County, was elected to the House of Delegates, representing Amelia and Nottoway Counties. Mr. Ash, a Hampton Institute graduate and agriculture teacher, returned to Loudoun in the 1890s to teach at the Leesburg School. No other African American served in political office in Loudoun until John W. Tolbert, Jr. was elected to the Leesburg Town Council in 1976.[237]

Loudoun's African Americans were politically active and appear to have voted without much confrontation or challenge until Virginia's constitution was changed in 1902. Until that time, they were not physically deprived of their right to vote, but they were certainly marginalized politically. Unlike African Americans elsewhere in Virginia, Loudoun's African Americans barely held local office—one man, for one year—and never held state office.

West Virginia

In 1860, Jefferson County, the eastern most county in Virginia of those that later formed West Virginia, had the greatest number of enslaved workers of the future West Virginia counties.[238] Similar to Maryland, deep conflicts around race and slavery coexisted in the border state. Immediately after the war, one of two segregation enactments was directed against interracial schools. As with all parts of the NCA, Black churches and schools in West Virginia played a crucial part in helping Blacks find the full measure and meaning of freedom. The African American community took it upon itself to create the first schools in the state for Blacks. According to historian Stephen Engle, however, "Ironically, the Freedman's Bureau to some degree hurt Black institutions and authoritarian positions, such as schools, since it ultimately placed them under white control." But, as Engle also points out,

236 Pollard, Report of the Loudoun County Heritage Commission, accessed March 1, 2019, https://loudoun.granicus.com/MetaViewer.php?view_id=79&clip_id=5918&meta_id=161436.

237 Eugene Scheel, "Timeline of Important Events in African American History in Loudon County, Virginia", The History of Loudon County, Virginia, accessed March 1, 2019, http://www.loudounhistory.org/history/African American-chronology/.

238 There were 3960 enslaved people. African American Population of Present-day West Virginia Counties in 1860, West Virginia Archives and History, accessed March 10, 2020, http://www.wvculture.org/history/africanamericans/blackpop.html.

"politics became the chief instrument by which freedom could be realized since it served to bring local mandates in line with national legislation."[239]

Like their counterparts elsewhere in the NCA following the Civil War, Black West Virginians confronted the multiple obstacles constructed along the long hard road to full rights of citizenship. Education in West Virginia for Blacks between the ages of six and twenty-one was both permitted and provided but the schools were segregated; Blacks in the state in 1868 could not vote, hold office or serve on juries. Organized resistance by Whites to registration laws led to frequent threats and attacks on registrar boards and during the 1868 election, a company of U. S. Regulars had to be called into Jefferson County in order to keep the peace. The fight for ratification of the 15th Amendment also resulted in fierce opposition from ex-Confederates working through the state's Democratic Party. Democrats refused to support the measure because it enfranchised Blacks and often disfranchised former Confederates.[240]

Suffrage came with passage of the 15th amendment in 1869 which tied enfranchisement of former Confederates to Black's right to vote. Black voters actually voted in the election of 1869 in favor of ratification of the amendment even though the confederate vote tied to the amendment would far outweigh their voting power.[241] In 1870, as elsewhere in the South, the Democratic Party presented itself as the "white man's party" as African Americans zealously exercised their right to vote. Democrats succeeded in passing the Flick Amendment, intended to deny suffrage to Black voters in West Virginia, while extending the suffrage to former Confederates. It did not supersede the Fifteenth Amendment, however, so African Americans retained their rights but the amendment did re-enfranchise former confederates.[242] Various loyalty oaths not originally part of the 1863 West Virginia Constitution were later introduced by legislators and by numerable means of excluding and disfranchising ex-confederates, Republicans were able to gain and retain power in the 1870s. West Virginia was not subject to Congressional Reconstruction Acts and direct military rule as a border state and was "the first southern state to abolish slavery, at least partially, of its own volition."[243]

In the Eastern Panhandle where Jefferson County is located, Blacks were holding conventions in Shepherdstown, Harpers Ferry and Charles Town and the Demo-

239 Connie Park Rice, "Don't Flinch nor Yield an Inch: J. R. Clifford and the Struggle for Equal Rights in West Virginia," 50, accessed March 26, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/43264770; Stephen D. Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction: Blacks in the political Reconstruction of West Virginia." *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 78, no. 3, 1993, 146-7.

240 Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 145.

241 Ibid., 144.

242 Caldwell, A. B. *History of the American Negro: West Virginia Edition*. West Virginia Classics, 2012.

243 Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction."

cratic "clean sweep" victory struck a hard blow in 1870. According to Engle, "The unraveling of the Republican Party in this election essentially confirmed Reconstruction a failure in the only state that had voluntarily left the Confederacy."[244] African Americans, comprising only 5% of the population in the Mountain State, were thirty-one percent of the population of Jefferson County. The percentage of Blacks in comparison to the state's total population remained among the lowest in the Union. Consequently, Black West Virginians built careful alliances with selected White Republican leaders as they continued to forcefully advance their claims for fair and equal treatment.[245] The county's Black citizens did not allow racial and class inequality to rule their lives as politicians had intended. As Engle points out, Black Mountaineers waged an ongoing fight against efforts to curtail their citizenship rights.[246] By 1871, a new legislature systematically had reduced the power of Blacks, reshaped the state's legal system, and was pushing toward the labor control interests and racial subordination as it "dismantled the Reconstruction state."[247]

At the state's constitutional convention in 1872, Democrats led a failed fight to disfranchise Black citizens. By a vote of thirty-six to thirty the constitutional convention did manage to pass an act which insured the right of voting and the privilege of office holding to Blacks in West Virginia.[248] Once Democrats came to power in the Mountain state, fueled by racial prejudice and hatred, they actively sought to disempower and disfranchise Blacks, and to rescind, restrict or nullify their recently acquired rights in a quest to return to pre-Civil War conditions. Later that year, West Virginia's new constitution essentially reduced the governor to a figurehead, denied the legislature authority over the election laws of the state and eliminated required voter registration. Democratic party members were obsessed with the idea that Black children might be educated in the same schools with white children and criticized the Republicans on the issue.[249]

In 1872, for example, over sixty Black residents of Jefferson County presented a petition to the constitutional convention requesting the right to serve on juries in the state's courts of law. The constitutional convention of 1872, which had no Black members, attempted to pass laws to "disfranchise them." A final attempt to diminish the rights recently bestowed through federal legislation occurred during the 1872 Convention when a proposal was introduced that would prohibit Blacks from holding elective office. The issue was strenuously debated until the last day of the constitutional convention. On a vote of fifty to fifteen, the question and a

244 Ibid.
245 Ibid., 142.
246 Ibid., 139.
247 Ibid., 153.
248 Ibid., 152-3, 57.
249 Rice, "Don't Flinch nor Yield an Inch," 45-7; Caldwell, *History of the American Negro*; Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 156.

decision were avoided by placing it on the ballot with the constitution itself, as a separate issue.[250]

Although West Virginians had acquiesced to Blacks holding elective office, the state proved highly resistant to African Americans' decades long fight to exercise their right to serve on juries. The legal precedent for jury service for African Americans was established in West Virginia in 1880 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that West Virginia had "failed to permit Blacks the right to serve as jurors along with its other obligations in qualifying them for citizenship" in *Strauder v. West Virginia*.[251] Despite the ruling, in 1888 a major conflict occurred in the Jefferson County courthouse. When John R. Clifford, the state's first Black attorney, "empaneled black men on a jury," he was attacked and "knocked down several times in the court room [by] deadly weights . . ."[252]

In the 1890s, Democratic politicians instituted the so called "Jim Crow" laws with the intent of legally disfranchising Blacks. In the face of this opposition African Americans strove to have a Black man placed on the ballot in 1892 when Republicans held their county convention. As a result, Hamilton Hatter was nominated as the county's Republican candidate for the West Virginia House of Delegates.[253] During the racially tense election, West Virginia Democrats "waged a bitter race campaign based on the threat of desegregated schools and the fear of 'Negro domination.'"[254]

Democrats targeted Hatter, a Black instructor of Latin, Greek and Mathematics at Storer College. He also started the Industrial Department of Storer and was a skillful engineer and mechanic who erected the main building. Hatter was a Republican candidate for the legislature from Jefferson County and was the first African American in West Virginia to receive the regular party nomination for office in Jefferson County.[255] Hatter had been born in the County and educated in its public schools. During the campaign, Democrats racially vilified Hatter. The very effective atmosphere of racial animosity cultivated by the Democratic campaign against Hatter preyed on Whites' worst fears about integrated schools with Black teachers in charge, to hand defeat to Hatter and thwart his chances of winning the election.[256]

---

250 Caldwell, *History of the American Negro*; Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 153.
251 Engle, Mountaineer Reconstruction, 154-5.
252 Ibid., 155.
253 Ibid., 155-6; Mary Johnson, "Hamilton Hatter," *The West Virginia Encyclopedia*, accessed March 26, 2020, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/326.
254 Rice, "Don't Flinch nor Yield an Inch," 50.
255 "Hamilton Hatter," West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History, http://www.wvculture.org/history/histamne/hatter.html.
256 Rice, "Don't Flinch nor Yield an Inch," 50. Accessed March 26, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/43264770.

Unlike their counterparts in other southern states, Blacks in West Virginia not only won the franchise, but also maintained it through numerous assaults, political maneuvers and the rise of Jim Crow during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nonetheless, they achieved only partial victory. Politicians found other extralegal devices to destabilize Black voting rights and render their votes ineffective. "Alternate polling places, gerrymandering, poll taxes, confusing or complicated ballots, time restraints," were among the strategies mentioned by historian Connie Rice.[257] West Virginia's original constitution of 1863 explicitly limited the right to serve on a jury to White males. Acts of the West Virginia Legislature on March 12, 1873, also stated that "All white male persons, who were twenty-one years of age and not over sixty and who are citizens of this state shall be liable to serve as jurors." The state constitution of 1872 mandated racially segregated institutions, particularly in public schools. Specifically, the segregationist clause stated, "white and colored shall not be taught in the same school." Accordingly, West Virginia sanctioned a racially stratified and unequal social order that would spread into a broad range of social service organizations and public accommodations. The state's Jim Crow order would frame the African American freedom movement through the mid-twentieth century. Article XII, Section 8 of the West Virginia State Constitution calling for segregated schools was not repealed and ratified until November 8, 1994.[258]

Maryland

In contrast to Virginia, Maryland Blacks in the NCA counties had fewer opportunities to voice their political will. At the outset of Reconstruction, the state held to the incompetence of Black witnesses in cases that involved white Marylanders; suffrage, too, was the domain of white men. Granting full political civil and political rights to African Americans found few supporters. Blacks themselves, however, were unwilling to let the matter rest until they acquired full and equal citizenship. Maryland rejected the 14th Amendment and the compulsion of the 15th Amendment, ratified without concurrence from Maryland, won the vote for Black men in Maryland.[259]

---

257 Ibid., 47.

258 Genevieve A. Harley, "Restricting the Discriminatory Use of Peremptory Challenges," *Loyola University Chicago Law Journal*, Vol. 20, Issue 4 (1989), 1115, accessed March 27, 2020, https://lawecommons.luc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1749&context=luclj; "A State of Convenience: The Creation of West Virginia." Constitution of West Virginia. West Virginia Archives and History, West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. accessed March 27, 2020, http://www.wvculture.org/history/statehood/constitution.html; The Constitution of West Virginia, Ratified 1872, National Liberty Alliance, 141, accessed March 27, 2020, https://www.nationallibertyalliance.org/files/constitutions/West%20Virginia%20Constitution.pdf.

259 Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1985.

Baltimore was the site of approximately four Maryland Colored Conventions; three of those were held during Reconstruction. Convention records for an 1869 convention noted that delegates were present who represented nearly every county in the state. The political climate in Maryland, particularly Prince George's and Montgomery counties, was far less welcoming as African Americans in the state were among the last group in the nation to emerge from slavery. The blessings of emancipation came late to the counties heavily invested in slavery in the state. African American political activism was heavily skewed toward Baltimore and away from the NCA counties.

Maryland Senate and House of Delegates had opposed the 15th Amendment and its granting of suffrage to all men. Between 1868 and 1870 Black men in Maryland had been denied membership in the Republican Party but Maryland's Republican Party did take action to seek passage of the 15th Amendment as a way of pushing Maryland to accept universal manhood suffrage. Although Marylanders were among many of the staunchest supporters of the Amendment, the Maryland Senate and House of Delegates rejected the 15th Amendment's granting of suffrage to all men and protecting a citizen's right to vote from restrictions based on "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Ultimately Maryland unanimously rejected the Amendment; it was only after ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment that Republican enthusiasm for Black voters reemerge. Ratification of the amendment in 1870 came without Maryland's concurrence. Voting rights for Black men suffered as a result.[260]

Although the rights and freedoms of Maryland's Black citizens were far from assured, ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment added 39,000 new Black voters to the total of 131,000 White voters registered in the state of Maryland.[261] The Democratic Party's firm political control on Baltimore and Maryland reflected the same national trends that led to the withdrawal of Union troops from the South and the end of Reconstruction.

The failure of the Republican Party to support the interests of Black Baltimoreans led many to begin organizing new independent organizations such as the "Equal-Rights League." Despite mounting resistance by Maryland Blacks, particularly in Baltimore, the conditions of unequal treatment continued to worsen in Maryland and across much of the country. In 1884, the Maryland Legislature reaffirmed its opposition to interracial marriage.

260 Eric Foner, "Reconstruction," NPS, accessed July 25, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/articles/reconstruction.htm.

261 "1831-1884: Abolition and Emancipation," Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage, https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1831-1884/.

Between 1882 and 1912, African American voter registration rates in Maryland reached 89 percent —just three percent below registration rates for whites. Voter turnout in elections increased to 77 percent during that period, suggesting that newly registered African American voters were taking advantage of their right to suffrage.[262] At the dawn of the twentieth century, race relations in Maryland along with the rest of the country fell below all imaginable levels for a democratic society. Maryland would not have an African American elected to the General Assembly until 1954 and not until 1955 for the State Senate.

Prince George's County

In June 1870, William Beckett of Prince George's County, ran unsuccessfully on the Republican ticket as a candidate for Bladensburg Town Commission. Between 1875 and 1890, Samuel L. R. Jennings and William Lane Watkins from Queen Anne, Eugene Wright Newman of Oxon Hill and Jeremiah Hawkins from Brandywine became the first Black men to serve on the Republican State Central Committee as delegates. In 1887, Dr. William Lane Watkins (who had since graduated from medical school at Boston University) was elected at the local level to serve as secretary to the Prince George's County Central Committee. In total, thirty-one Black men, representing twelve jurisdictional districts served as delegates to the August convention. Black men from the county continued to serve at the local level until 1904 when intense legislative activity designed to disfranchise Black voters began.[263]

[262] Clara H. Vaughn, "Historical Society offers glimpse of African Americans during Reconstruction," *The Baltimore Sun*, March 12, 2012, accessed July 19, 2019, https://www.baltimoresun.com/ph-ll-lhs-freedom-0315-20120312-story.html.

[263] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, 63, 70.

PART II: INSTITUTION BUILDING

CHAPTER FOUR: BLACK ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES

INTRODUCTION

Blacks were constantly organizing and re-forming their institutions throughout the Reconstruction era. Much of the expanded analysis of Reconstruction includes the institution building and political actions of African Americans after 1877 as well as before. African Americans used intersectional leadership and multiple strategies for freedom throughout the Reconstruction Era. There were proposals and programs, newspaper articles and requests to Congress, convention meetings, benevolent societies and fraternal lodges formed.

Religious conventions through the AME church had been a reality since its founding in 1816. The same was true of the AME Zion church. Baptists were organized differently with a less centralized structure, but they too came together in religious communities. By the end of slavery, African Americans already had considerable experience and proficiency in operating their own churches and schools, as well as mutual and beneficial associations. In looking at such organizations across time, gender and space, historian Stephanie Shaw makes a case for the history of "voluntary associations" among African Americans that indicates "an historical legacy of collective consciousness and mutual associations."[264] Benevolent societies, fraternal orders, literary and reform societies had been stabilizing, supportive factors throughout pre-Civil War Black society and continued throughout Reconstruction. Formation of fraternal orders and benevolent societies accelerated at the end of the 19th century. In Montgomery County, MD, for example, the Order of Moses benevolent society and cemetery was established in 1885. The lodges associated with the order were specifically focused on three critical areas, "the care and education of the orphan children of deceased members, the burial of its dead, and the care and oversight of its sick and destitute."[265] Together, these associations, societies and orders continued their leadership tradition of mutuality across the arc of Reconstruction and ensured a strategy for future survival.

[264] Stephanie J. Shaw, *Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women, Journal of Women's History*, Volume 3, Number 2, Fall 1991, 11-25, 11; Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Virginia, compiler, *The Negro in Virginia* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1994).

[265] Bethesda Moses Cemetery, IR+Media, August 11, 2020, accessed March 15, 2021, https://medium.com/@IRMediaLLC_39840/bethesda-moses-cemetery-50b386ad82b2.

Black men had taken the lead in organizing themselves through Colored Conventions since 1830. AME Bishop Richard Allen and Baltimore's Hezekiah Grice issued the first call for men of color to assemble to organize around the pressing issues before them. The movement would endure for another 70 years. Black women, too, organized themselves into colored women's associations, literary societies and participated in the Colored Conventions alongside the men. With the motto, "Lifting as we climb," Black women worked tirelessly to give back, lift up and guide the race. By 1898, the National Afro-American Council (NAAC), considered the first truly nationwide civil rights organization, convened in Washington in December. AME Zion Bishop Alexander Walters of Washington, D.C. served as its first president. Local branch chapters maintained pressure in the press to fight discrimination. Other issues of concern centered on the denial of political participation, peonage, and the increased number of lynchings.[266]

THE CONVENTION MOVEMENT

Beginning thirty years before the Civil War and surviving well into the Reconstruction Era, African Americans organized and gathered across the United States and Canada to participate in political meetings known as Colored Conventions. Operating at the state and national levels, these conventions became one cornerstone of Black organizing in the nineteenth century civic sphere. Delegates gathered from across the country. Colored conventions gave political voice to Black men and women in their decades-long campaign for civil and human rights. Such gatherings had been the political proving ground for Black men and some women before the War and became their touchstone as they negotiated the political turbulence and uncertainty of Reconstruction.[267]

When Alexandria held the National Convention of Colored Men of America in 1865, it was the first city to host a post-Civil War Colored Convention in the NCA. More than sixty men of color met in a Colored State Convention months after the end of the Civil War. From August 2–5, delegates to the convention were deeply concerned with the rights as full citizenship, particularly voting rights. Alexandria's Dr. R. D. Beckley, "a member of the grand jury of the United States Circuit Court," and "well known as a leading Radical" called the meeting to order and served as President of the Convention. Alexandria was well represented. Rev. George Washington Parker, pastor of Alexandria's Third Baptist Church, who would go on to become Councilman representing the Fourth Ward, served as the Convention's temporary Chairman. Men who had once served their country in the Civil War came together to lobby Congress. William Holmes of Fairfax County

266 Shaw, *Black Club Women*, 11; Conventions By Year, Colored Conventions Project, accessed March 6, 2021, https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/convention-by-year.

267 Colored Conventions Project, accessed March 1, 2021, https://coloredconventions.org/.

appears to have been a Civil War veteran who served in Company A, 5th Massachusetts Calvary.[268]

To ensure there was no ambiguity about their intentions, the colored men of Virginia titled their first convention, "Liberty and Equality Before the Law." Held in Lyceum Hall, at Prince and Washington Street in (Old Town) Alexandria a mere four months after the end of the war, the Proceedings of the Convention of the Colored People of Virginia focused on labor and asked the question, "what is necessary to be done?" After hundreds of years of toiling in forced enslavement for people of color, Blacks were now forced by public opinion into the position of answering their critics who charged them with being "unproductive." In response to the question, "Will they work?" Blacks responded, "We have been working all our lives, not only supporting ourselves, but we have supported our masters, many of them in idleness."[269]

Anticipating the language of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the 14th Amendment, which was to come three years in the future, delegates claimed their rights as citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia. "The laws of the Commonwealth shall give to all men equal protection . . ." They stressed their quest for "equal rights without regard to the color of [one's] skin" and that should be accomplished by extending "the elective franchise, which we believe to be our inalienable right as freemen, and which the Declaration of Independence guarantees to all free citizens of this Government and which is the privilege of the nation. We claim the right of suffrage." They came together seeking government protection and the protection of the laws of the state rather than the military protection of Reconstruction. One delegate pledged to exert himself "to secure the right of franchise in every way that is honorable and just."[270]

Five months later, on January 30, 1866, the National Convention of Colored Men reconvened at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C. The Reverend Henry Highland Garnet, pastor of the church, presided over the national convention of delegates who had assembled from Maryland, the District

268 "William Holmes - Company A, 5th Massachusetts Cavalry Veteran," From Slaves to Soldiers and Beyond - Williamson County, Tennessee's African American History, April 29, 2017, accessed February 28, 2021, https://usctwillcotn.blogspot.com/2017/04/william-holmes-company-5th.html.

269 "Meeting at the Capitol Last Night," The Richmond Dispatch, August 2, 1867, accessed February 28, 2021, https://reconstructingvirginia.richmond.edu/items/show/679; Reconstructing Virginia, "Liberty, and equality before the law: Proceedings of the Convention of the Colored People of Virginia., held in the city of Alexandria, Aug. 2, 3, 4, 5, 1865," Colored Conventions Project, accessed August 31, 2019, http://coloredconventions.org/items/show/272.

270 Liberty, and Equality Before the Law. Proceedings of the Convention of the Colored People of VA, Held in the City of Alexandria, Aug. 2,3,4,5, 1865, Colored Conventions Project, http://coloredconventions.org/items/show/272 accessed September 3, 2019.

of Columbia, New York, Pennsylvania, and six New England states. Delegates also represented Alabama, Florida and Wisconsin. The convention endorsed "the right of impartial suffrage." Self-liberated abolitionist Frederick Douglass headed the delegation, sent by the convention to meet with President Andrew Johnson with the intention of putting forth claims to civil and political equality.[271] On February 6, the Convention emissaries declared to the President that African Americans deserved suffrage because "we are subjects of the Government and subject to taxation, to volunteer in the service of the country, subject to being drafted, subject to bear the burdens of the State, makes it not improper that we should ask to share in the privileges of this condition." However, Johnson refused to be swayed.[272] According to historian Stephen Angell, Johnson's plan for "Restoration" lacked crucial protective measures for the civil rights of Blacks and offered neither a solution nor a role for Black participation in Southern politics. In 1866, Charles Sumner, the great champion of Civil Rights, encouraged legislators to enact a civil rights bill for the protection of African Americans.[273] This would be the first among a string of Civil Rights laws that continued in the 1860s and 70s and would reemerge a century later.

In June 1868, sixty Black Republican delegates, from Maryland and West Virginia, met in Baltimore where they again convened in early August of 1868, this time organized as the Colored Men's Border States Convention. Conventioneers stated their case for enfranchisement and fair treatment, employment and housing. The National Convention of Colored Men came together again at Union League Hall in Washington, DC in January 1869. More than 200 delegates assembled, this time from across the country. The ubiquitous Frederick Douglass addressed the gathering. West Virginia delegate Adam Howard served as Vice President to the national organization. Enfranchisement, education and self-empowerment were at the forefront of their concerns.[274] Prominent African American civic leaders helped organize Black West Virginians into a political coalition in the Eastern Pan-

271 "Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights," A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study, NPS, 2007, revised 2009, accessed January 10, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/upload/CivilRights_VotingRights.pdf; Philip S. Foner and George E. Walker, *Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions 1865-1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 80-81; "Visit of the Colored Delegation to the President," *Mirror*, February 14, 1866, accessed July 25, 2019, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/559ec31fe4b0550458945194/t/563e36bde4b057fc122e54e5/1446917821217/Douglass+to+White+House.pdf.

272 "An Interview with Andrew Johnson," by Frederick Douglass (1866) in Kevin J. Fernlund, Documents for America's History, Volume 2: Since 1865 (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2011 7th Ed.), 10.

273 Stephen W. Angell, "A Black Minister Befriends the Unquestioned Father of Civil Rights: Henry McNeal Turner, Charles Sumner, and the African American Quest for Freedom," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 85:1, 27-58.

274 Address of the Colored Men's Border States Convention, https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/files/original/d87123800adedf4e04057f025e236eba.jpg.

handle where Jefferson County is located, and local Blacks worked to form Union Leagues in the Panhandle.

On January 12, 1869, the National Convention of Colored Men was again held in Washington, D.C. Numerous delegates represented the District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland among several other states. The first day the convention met at Union League Hall. The group formed to address the alarming directions race relations were taking in the North as well as the South. Frederick Douglass was elected as its president. "The object of the National Convention of colored men, recently in session at Washington, was to inquire into the actual condition of the [N]egro race in this country, and to consider the political and social problems which that race has to encounter as the result of emancipation." They were already concerned with the question of "equality before the law."[275]

The second day of the convention was held at Israel AME Church on Capitol Hill. Delegates to the Convention clashed over whether to continue building an African American "equal rights league." Some, including AME minister, Henry McNeal Turner, the former pastor of Israel AME, thought the organization should be perfected, that would "bind the colored people together on one common cause." But others, including physician Charles Purvis, had insisted that "there should be no colored leagues but simply leagues of American citizens, irrespective of color."[276] AME Bishop Daniel A. Payne of Ohio addressed the convention by letter as his long absences from home prevented from attending in person. He reported to the convention that:

> In no portion of the Southern States where the whites are in a majority, is the life of a colored person safe, unless he, or she exhibits, both in word or deed, the spirit of a slave. In all the Eastern States excepting five; in all the Western States excepting two; the heel of the oppressor is still upon the neck of the colored American. That is to say, he is deprived of the Elective franchise.[277]

The resolutions presented at this convention embodied the hopes and dreams for the political and economic future of the race. At the close of the Convention, on the morning of January 19, the Convention sent a committee of twelve to call on and offer congratulations to President-elect Grant. The delegation, including John Mercer Langston, John F. Cook and George L. Vashon representing the District,

[275] Proceedings of the National Convention of the Colored Men of America: held in Washington, D.C., on January 13, 14, 15, and 16, 1869, accessed August 29, 2019, http://coloredconventions.org/items/show/452.

[276] Foner and Walker, *Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions*, 366, 368. See also Hugh Davis, "Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League," esp. 617-21, 630-31.

[277] Proceedings of the National Convention of the Colored Men of America: held in Washington, D.C., on January 13, 14, 15, and 16, 1869, 14, accessed August 29, 2019, http://coloredconventions.org/items/show/452.

urged General Grant to be vigilant in the fulfillment and administration of equal rights. In reply, Grant offered his efforts to secure every protection which the law gives them.[278] The following month, George T. Downing served as president of the Executive Committee which submitted a Memorial of the Executive Committee to the United States Senate praying "That the right of suffrage be granted to all citizens without regard to race, color or previous condition." The petitioners' language was careful to emphasize their status as citizens as established by the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866, as justification for the franchise.[279]

Although outside the NCA, delegates to the June 1869 meeting of the Maryland State Colored Convention in Baltimore came from across the state including counties within the Area. "The State Colored Convention met here today. Delegates were present from nearly every county in the State," the minutes reflected. At the night session, a series of resolutions expressing confidence in President Grant and in his Administration were adopted. The resolutions asked that Black apprentices be admitted to all branches of trade, and that no Black mechanic be prohibited from any trade. One resolution thanked the President and Federal officeholders for appointing colored men to position and prodding the colored Republicans of Maryland to support the regular nominations of the party.[280]

African Americans continued to coalesce during this hopeful period. The Colored National Labor Convention held in Washington, D.C., December 6-10, 1869 acknowledged the liberation from the unrequited toil of chattel slavery but also called attention to the dissatisfaction with the status, remuneration and opportunities for the laboring class. The Convention also reflected the myriad ways in which the freedmen's concern about how their labor, new labor rights and practices would be borne out as they entered the national economy as wage laborers. James T. Rapier, representing his home state of Alabama at the Convention, served as one of its several vice presidents.[281]

The Convention established the Colored National Labor Union to address all the different ways people were concerned for employment and working to ensure ac-

278 Schneider, Richard. *African American History in the Press*, Volume 1, Gale Research, 1996, page 593; Proceedings of the National Convention of the Colored Men of America, held in Washington, D.C. on January 13–16, 1869, ix, accessed August 29, 2019, http://coloredconventions.org/items/show/452.

279 Memorial of the Executive Committee of the Late National Convention of Colored Men of the Country, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, Mis. Doc. No. 44, Feb. 5, 1869, accessed August 27, 2019, https://librarycompany.org/geniusoffreedom/northern-blacks-and-the-reconstruction-amendments.

280 *The Elevator*, June 11, 1869.

281 Proceedings of the Colored National Labor Convention Held in Washington, D.C. from December 6–10, 1869 (Washington, D.C., 1870). Colored Conventions Project, accessed March 18, 2020, https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/files/original/395c8b166607f33e1fadeb7eec6e67af.pdf.

cess to equal employment. This growing "labor movement" came together in the cause of the working men and friends of labor "throughout the country in perfecting independent organizations for the protection of the rights and the advancement of the interests of labor and the laborer."[282] On January 19, 1871, the Colored National Labor Union petitioned Congress to implement a national system of educational and technical training. The union, which assembled two hundred delegates at is first convention in 1869, considered it an absolute necessity to use its growing power immediately, since it had tied its future to the Republican Party.[283]

In the first half of the 1870s, people such as Virginia lawyer John Mercer Langston argued for the eradication of racial distinctions in every aspect of American life, a position that also fit with Grant's argument that the Reconstruction constitutional amendments were sufficient guarantors of racial equality. But others, including Frederick Douglass, voiced a more complex view. At a December 19, 1873 National Civil-Rights Convention organized to lobby for passage of Sumner's civil rights bill, Douglas acknowledged that the measure was, as critics charged, "special legislation." That is, by specifying that there must be no discrimination on account of race, the bill singled out race as a category of difference that demanded particular attention. Opponents objected that these measures granted special privileges to African Americans. Douglass argued that positive legislation against racial discrimination remained a necessary requirement. "We have for at least four generations been made the subjects of special legislation-this against our will, as it was against our interest. Now the last hour for special legislation has struck… Give us our rights, and the noontide of the Republic is reached."[284] Until the legacies of slavery were fully expunged from public life, Douglass suggested, it would be appropriate to recognize race in policy and law.[285] Douglass was joined by J. Sella Martin, a popular Presbyterian preacher who had escaped slavery years before, who also represented the District at the convention.[286]

At that December 19 meeting, officially titled in Senate documents as "Memorial of the National Convention of Colored Persons, *praying to be protected in their*

[282] Proceedings of the Colored National Labor Convention held in Washington, D.C., from December 6–10, 1869, 4, accessed August 29, 2019, http://coloredconventions.org/items/show/591.

[283] Proceedings of the Colored National Labor convention held in Washington, D.C., from December 6–10, 1869, Colored Conventions Project, https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/591; Liberty, and equality before the law, Proceedings of the Convention of the Colored People of Virginia, held in the city of Alexandria, August 2–5, 1865, accessed March 23, 2021, https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/272.

[284] Editorial, *New National Era and Citizen*, December 18, 1873.

[285] Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 242.

[286] "Memorial of the National Convention of Colored Persons, praying to be protected in their civil rights," National Civil-Rights Convention, Washington, D. C., December 1873. 43rd Congress, 1st Session, Mis. Doc. No. 21, U. S. Senate, 1, accessed February 28, 2021, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc1.50076352.

civil rights," Black men gathered to entreat Congress, addressing the representatives and senators directly, "Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled," arguing for the entitlement of all rights of the "nearly five millions of American citizens who are shamefully outraged." The assembly specifically directed Congress's protection from the discriminatory "distinctions in the enjoyment of common carriers, hotels and other public places of convenience and refreshment, in public places of amusement, and in enjoying other civil rights" in the District.[287]

A decade later, Black conventioneers met at Lincoln Hall in Washington on October 22, 1883 at the Civil Rights mass-meeting to express their views about the recent Supreme Court ruling that declared the Civil Rights Law of 1875 unconstitutional and to urge passage of the civil rights bill. Although listed as an attendee, noted historian and politician George Washington Williams was unable to attend after he had "sent a letter to a Washington newspaper expressing the hope that the call would be heard "by every colored man throughout the land!"[288] The Honorable Frederick Douglass attended and was featured in the Proceedings.

Blacks had been working together and fighting for their rights first as soldiers during the Civil War and later as political activists. When Frederick Douglass was appointed United States Marshall in 1877, prominent leader, Perry H. Carson was selected as his Deputy Marshall and went on to retain his position under Douglass' successor. By the 1870s, Carson already had become the most powerful and prominent leader of working-class laborers. Carson had been a bailiff, a saloonkeeper and a government appointee. His first great political fight in the District occurred in 1876 when he had been a delegate to the District Convention to select two delegates for the National Republican Convention. He marshalled his forces to ensure that the people's choice would be elected. In 1884, he entered the race on his own behalf and was elected as a delegate from the District, which he repeated against great odds in 1888 and again in 1892 and 1896.[289]

Carson was part of a committee, along with Frederick Douglass and John F. Cook among others, who called for a convention of colored men to be held in Wash-

287 Ibid.

288 Boston Evening Transcript, November 28, 1873; New National Era (Washington, D.C.), December 4, 1873; *John Hope Franklin, George Washington Williams: A Biography* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985); Goode, Capital Losses, 403; Colored Conventions Project, accessed August 27, 2019, http://coloredconventions.org/files/original/90e8d7a2151711f22b2af42c68465954.pdf.

289 News Article, *Evening Star*, October 3, 1889, 3; "Col. Perry H. Carson, The Life of a Natural Born Leader. His Services to His Party and People. He Was Honored by Mr. Blaine." *Washington Bee*, August 18, 1888, 3; "District Republicans. Both Factions Hold Meeting and the Carsonites Has Elected National Delegates," *The Sun*, Baltimore, January 13, 1892, 3; *The Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., May 14, 1896.

ington in 1884 for the purpose of determining "the real condition of the colored people." One of the things that prompted the call was a meeting immediately after adjournment of Congress with prominent legislators and Blacks in Congress, notably Louisiana ex-Governor Pinchback and former congressional representative from Alabama, John T. Rapier.[290]

Black Washingtonians found multiple ways to combat efforts to challenge their growing political power. Washington's Black citizens continued their collective activism through the Colored Convention Movement. The acquisition of skills to sustain employment and labor meant the difference between mere survival and success. In 1885, Blacks issued a call for a Conference on Industrial Schools so that "cunning hands" could accompany "cultivated brains."[291]

Working across multiple fronts, Carson had formed the Blaine Invincible Republican Club, in support of Maine Speaker of the House, James G. Blaine's (1863-1876) candidacy for president in 1880 against Benjamin Harrison. The Club, which was focused on the interest of the race and on helping those in need, was the first Republican Club in Washington. Carson, as a member of the National Committee from the District of Columbia, was Blaine's staunch supporter.[292] Although Carson could not serve as an elected official in the District, when he assumed the presidency of the District's Blaine Invincible Republican Club, he was able to expand his influence as one of the city's foremost Republican representatives to the Republican National Convention.

Under Carson's leadership and influence, the Blaine Invincible Club, colored, adopted a resolution that proposed the organization of a National Bureau of Relief which was later formed as the Central Bureau of Relief. The Bureau was intended to gather information about Washington's people of color, "their condition and the wrongs they suffer," to report to the daily newspapers and to prepare proper documents to be forwarded to the President. Known as Colonel Carson once the Invincible Club honored him with the title, Carson would dominate politics among African American Washingtonians for nearly forty years, "and decided political battles before the right of franchise was taken from the citizens of the national capital."[293]

By 1889, the rapidly eroding conditions for Black Americans were alarming and other organizations were also actively pressing their concerns. A National Con-

290 *The Evening Star*, Washington, May 16, 1883, 8.
291 Asch and Musgrove, *Chocolate City*.
292 "Arrived at Last: James G. Blaine Receives a Nation's Welcome." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 8, 1888, 1.
293 News Article, *Evening Star*, Oct. 3, 1889, 3; "PERRY H. CARSON DEAD," *New York Times*, November 01, 1909, 11.

vention was held in Washington in 1889. When Perry headed the Central Bureau of Relief as its president, the organization appealed to "Earnest advocates of the equal exercise of political and civil rights for the colored American citizens." The organization was formed for the express purpose of cooperating with various national endeavors fighting for the rights guaranteed under the United States Constitution. To that end, the Bureau issued a call for a National Convention to be held in the District on the first Monday in February 1890.[294]

By 1889, it was clear that the growing disenchantment of African American voters with the Republican Party had reached a breaking point and the call for the 1890 Colored Convention was directed toward this crisis. Carson, however, stated in a newspaper interview that the Convention ". . . was not for the purpose of considering the doings of the Administration, but the real condition of the colored people." *The Cleveland Gazette* put it in broad terms, "There is widespread dissatisfaction extant among Republicans caused by the evident peculiar unconcerned attitude of President Harrison." The paper continued, "Ohio has lost to the Republicans again by the defection of the colored vote, and it is only a question of time how long the colored man of other Northern States will submit to the unrepublican treatment of only being allowed to vote for the party but not share its honors and profits in the hour of victory." The article highlighted the "shabby treatment of colored Republicans by the Administration" and that "Afro-Americans are beginning to see that their salvation lies in other than political fields." *The Washington Bee* added, "Delegation after delegation" had called on President Harrison to inform him of "hundreds of loyal black men and women who were shot down like dogs and he didn't even wince." *The Washington Bee* cautioned, ". . . while we prefer the Republican party, we are unwilling, and will positively refuse to be any longer mere automatons."[295]

Both the National Colored Press Convention and the Convention of Colored Americans were held in the District in 1890. Held at AME Metropolitan Church, the Colored Americans Convention was first called for by Carson, the District's Republican political powerhouse, as president of the National Bureau of Relief—later the Central Bureau of Relief. Known as the voice of Black working class Washingtonians, Carson spoke out for his people, acted on his beliefs and represented low-income Black residents at multiple Republican National Conventions as well as at Colored Conventions. Carson and his impoverished Black working

[294] News Article, Evening Star, Oct. 3, 1889, 3; Headquarters Central Bureau of Relief, D.C., October 31, 1889, accessed March 6, 2021, https://dh.howard.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1068&context=og_circulars.

[295] News Article, *Evening Star*, Washington (DC), May 16, 1883; "Of Race Interest. Afro-American Journals on the Results of the Recent Election," *Cleveland Gazette*, November 23, 1889, 1; King Marleaux, "What I Saw and Heard, The Washington Bee, Washington, DC, Vol. VIII, Nov. 16, 1889 and Nov. 9, 1889, 1.

class supporters embodied the fear Whites held when it came to voting rights for Blacks. Carson's supporters comprised a great portion of Washington, D.C.'s residents. Many of them lived in Washington's Black neighborhoods: U Street corridor, Hell's Bottom near present day Logan Circle, and Fort Reno in upper Northwest, all of which evolved from contraband camps once located nearby. [296]

In 1891, the American Citizens Equal Rights League Association Conference was held in the city. By 1896, however, the *Washington Bee* noted the absence of long-standing prominent Republicans, including Carson, Bruce and Langston from the political arena and asked, "Is this the Beginning of the End?"[297]

WOMEN'S ORGANIZING IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

While African American men focused their attention and concern on the political and civil rights issues of the day, Black women were also uniting among themselves for the greater good of the race. Organizing among African American women began with church societies and benevolent associations, literary societies and elocution clubs. For three decades before the Civil War, Black women supported multiple aspects of the antislavery movement as well. They led the way by establishing the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Salem, the country's first all African American female antislavery society which originated in Salem, Massachusetts in 1832. Black women continued to carry on their tradition of racial uplift, fund-raising projects and self-help throughout the Civil War and the Reconstruction era.[298]

Two women, Harriet Jacobs and Elizabeth Keckley, were among the first women of color to come forward to aid the refugees. Although most women worked in larger organizations, Harriet Jacobs formed a partnership of sorts with Julia Wilbur as they worked among the contrabands. Jacobs had been asked by Philadelphia antislavery activists to go to Washington to report on the contrabands. Jacobs, like Elizabeth Keckley, came to the NCA in 1862 with the intention of working among the contrabands. Like Keckley, she had once been enslaved. Jacobs escaped from Edenton, North Carolina and is best known for her book, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.*

When Jacobs arrived in the capital in the spring of 1862, she found 400 refugees from slavery with neither shelter nor resources. Within a year, the numbers would swell to ten thousand in the District with another three thousand across the river in Alexandria. Writing to the abolitionist newspaper, The Liberator in August

296 Asch and Musgrove, *Chocolate City*.
297 "It is Just the Beginning," *Washington Bee*, Washington, D.C., August 8, 1896, 4.
298 "Constitution of The Female Anti-Slavery Society of Salem, Formed February 22, 1832," The Liberator, November 17, 1832, 3; Beth A. Salerno, *Sister societies: women's antislavery organizations in antebellum America* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005).

1862, Jacobs reported in a long letter that immediately upon her arrival in Washington, she visited Government headquarters at Duff Green's Row on East Capitol Street.[299] There she found men, women and children huddled together. Some were barely clothed, sick with measles, diphtheria, scarlet and typhoid fever. The onslaught was at times relentless and the first winter of her service was particularly hard. Small-pox and other diseases were ravaging the people and Jacobs soon exhausted her own energies while caring for their physical needs. She provided orphan children with homes, nursed the sick, assisted the capable in finding work as she encouraged habits of industry and self-reliance. On the other side of the ledger, the Superintendent's office "was thronged throughout the day" by persons who came to hire the refugees—women at $4 per month and men at $10.[300]

Shortly after Jacobs arrived to work in Alexandria, she encountered Julia Wilbur, who had been sent to Alexandria to organize the relief efforts among the contrabands there. Both women quickly discovered that they disagreed with the harsh, counter-productive tactics of Alexandria's military governor. The two women began to work together in helping to provide basic needs including food, shelter, medicine, and education among the contrabands in Alexandria. After the war, Jacobs moved on to New York, then to Boston before returning to Washington, D.C. in 1877.[301]

Mary Todd Lincoln's dressmaker Elizabeth Keckley also worked among the contrabands in Washington during the Civil War in August 1862. After observing "that a society of colored people [needed to] be formed to labor for the benefit of the unfortunate freedmen," she and thirty-nine other dedicated women met at the home of Jane Le Count Cook, the widow of minister and educator John F. Cook. Within two weeks of the popular idea, the women organized the Contraband Relief Association. The Association collected funds from local African Americans and gathered clothes to assist those newly freed or escaped from slavery in Virginia and Maryland to Washington, D. C. contraband camps. Keckley delivered the First Annual Report of the organization that she led as its president at Henry Highland Garnet's Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church. Israel AME under pastor Henry McNeal Turner also welcomed the organization and allowed use of its sanctuary for the association's fund-raising concerts.[302]

---

299 Located where the Folger Shakespeare Library now stands.

300 "Life Among The Contrabands," *The Liberator*, September 5, 1862, 4 (signed LINDA for Jacobs' pseudonym, Linda Brent under which her book was published), accessed March 15, 2021, http://theliberatorfiles.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/The-Liberator-1862-09-05-Page-4.png.

301 Unlikely Friends: Julia Wilbur and Harriet Jacobs in Civil War Alexandria, May 25, 2016, National Women's History Museum, Virginia, accessed March 14, 2021, https://www.womenshistory.org/articles/unlikely-friends.

302 C. Peter Ripley, ed., *The Black Abolitionist Papers Volume V, The United States, 1859-1865* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

Keckley had been enslaved in Virginia and had purchased her own and her son's freedom years earlier. She understood the plight of those for whom she devoted her time and efforts. Keckley traveled widely fundraising and collecting donations from famous abolitionists, Black churches and women's organizations from Baltimore to Boston. Frederick Douglass among many others was among her contributors. The Black women of Washington developed an extensive relief network. To reflect the expanded responsibilities it was assuming, the organization changed its name to the Ladies' Freedmen and Soldiers' Relief Association in July 1864.

As a recent widow during the Civil War, Mary Ann Shadd Cary, another powerful woman of the era, came to Washington in 1868 with her daughter Elizabeth. When she arrived in the city, the abolitionist newspaper editor and journalist was considered foremost among the distinguished and versatile women of her day. From her longtime home in Chatham Canada, Cary had spent the years before emancipation in the United States fighting against slavery and for its abolition as co-editor of Canada's first anti-slavery newspaper the *Provincial Freeman*. This international journalist and newspaper editor is recognized as "the first Black newspaperwoman on the North American continent." Her home at 1421 W Street in northwest Washington is on the National Register of Historic places.[303]

After emancipation, education and moral improvement of the freed women and men were foremost among Cary's concerns. For fifteen years, she worked as an educator teaching Black children in the city's school system and at Howard University. She taught during the day but was also able to accept occasional public speaking engagements throughout the country. It was her attraction to the law that led her to study law at Howard University from 1869 until 1871. She was able to work in law before she completed her degree. Between 1872 and 1874, she again turned her interests to education and served as principal of the O Street School.[304]

Paralleling the generations of women who would follow her, Cary began to focus on women's rights and the women's suffrage movement as well. Speaking before the annual convention of the National Suffrage Association in 1878 earned her recognition as a leader within the women's suffrage movement. In addition to the public facing institutions devoted to education or aimed at aiding the less fortunate, Black women were pivotal in forming organizations that met their own internal needs. Cary also organized the Colored Women's Progressive Franchise Association in 1880. The Franchise advocated for equal rights of African American women. The organization, also known as the Colored Women's Progressive

303 Mary Ann Shadd Cary House, National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, accessed June 21, 2021, https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/d40c021e-91e4-4387-9603-ec7c329d8189.

304 Ibid.

Franchise Association or the Colored Women's Progressive Association, laid the groundwork for a movement of Black women's organizations and institutions that gave voice to their concerns and their own agendas.[305]

In establishing the Colored Women's Progressive Franchise, Cary can be viewed as one of the foremothers who encouraged a platform in support of Black women's interest and a club movement on a national Level. Cary's work preceded the women's club movement in Washington, D.C. by more than a decade. Concerning a February 20, 1880 meeting of the Colored Women's Progressive Franchise at the Mt. Pisgah Chapel on R Street, NW, the African American newspaper People's Advocate reported, about forty "ladies and gentlemen" were present.[306] At the first meeting on February 9, the stated objective and intention of the movement was "the discussion of the franchise question and the practical extensions of privileges and measures for public good, without sex discrimination." The organization focused on vocational training for young women and encouraged Black women to learn to invest their money and understand how to promote business ventures. By encouraging women as workers and as entrepreneurs, the organization hoped to undergird women's political and economic rights while serving as a business and labor information clearing house. Instilling religious and moral values were primary concerns. The Franchise's Statement of Purpose laid out a twenty-point plan of action which asserted their demand of equal rights "to seek to obtain the ballot." Their right to work and fair representation in labor, banking and business "unbiased by sex restrictions and jealousies" were at the forefront of their concerns. [307]

Ten years after being denied a law degree by Howard University, Cary resumed her legal studies and graduated in June 1883, one of four women and the only Black woman in the class to receive the Bachelor of Laws degree (LL.B) from the Law Department that year. She was one of the first two Black women in the United States to enroll in law school. She is recognized today as one of the first Black women lawyers not only in Washington but also in the United States. Apparently, she gave up her teaching position in 1884 to concentrate on the practice of law. Notably, Cary succeeded and was able to publicize her legal services in an era when women were thwarted in their attempts to practice law. A contemporary of hers noted: "My friend Mary Ann Shadd Carey studied law in Howard University

305 Jennifer Davis, "Mary Ann Shadd Cary: Lawyer, Educator, Suffragist," February 28, 2019, Library of Congress, accessed March 15, 2021, https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2019/02/mary-ann-shadd-cary-lawyer-educator-suffragist/.

306 *Jim Bearden and Linda Jean Butler, Shadd: the life and times of Mary Shadd Cary* (NC Press: Toronto, 1977), 223; People's Advocate, Washington, D. C. February 21, 1880.

307 Mary Ann Shadd Cary, Colored Women's Progressive Franchise Association Statement of Purpose," accessed March 15, 2021, https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C2613568.

a few years ago, graduated with honors, took up the practice of her profession in the District of Columbia, and has more to show for her work as a lawyer than dozens of men that I know who have been practicing for years." At the time, he noted that she was "fully 60 years old." She was able to challenge the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee and remind them of the guarantees of the 14th and 15th Amendments.[308] She argued for the right to vote in federal elections, and she won! Cary became "one of the few women to vote in federal elections during the Reconstruction period."[309]

The short-lived Colored Women's Progressive Franchise was a frontrunner that anticipated the Black women's club movement that was to emerge in the 1890s, such as the Colored Women's League of Washington. Equal access and work opportunities for women as well as financial independence and voting rights for Black women were key issues. The organization was at the helm of a paradigm shift leaning away from domestic concerns and toward gender equality.[310] In the closing years of the nineteenth century, these African American women came together to organize on their own behalf, as well as on behalf of their families, their communities, and their race. The District of Columbia was a focal point for Black women of education and standing to carry on the work begun by Cary. The women understood the necessity of organizations that integrated a commitment to racial and gender equality. Gradually, they laid claim to visibility and authority within Washington's Black world. Mary Church Terrell, for example became the first female President of the Bethel Literary and Historical Association in 1892. Organized by AME Bishop Daniel Payne in 1891, this literary enrichment program and incisive group of prominent debaters focused on student support by encouraging teachers in the colored schools to study abroad at museums. As a social literary group, the Association attracted among its participants, Washington's and the region's brightest African American intellectuals.[311]

In 1892, just a year before Cary's death, these women organized the National Colored Women's League in Washington, ushering in what one scholar has called an era of "black bourgeois feminism." The group goals of racial uplift, education and training for Black youth, support for Black women's interests, and the encouragement of a club movement at a national level were all part of the platform Mary Ann had tried to advance more than a decade earlier. The League's Constitution

308 *Jim Bearden and Linda Jean Butler, Shadd* (Toronto: NC Press Ltd, 1977), 214, 220.

309 Cary, Mary Ann Shadd (1823-1893) in *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, Volume I A—L, Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 224-5.

310 Jane Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998).

311 It was organized in Bethel Hall, adjoining the Magruder School. Staff, MSRC, "History of the Bethel Literary and Historical Association, by John W. Cromwell, Founder's Day, 1896" (1900). Bethel Literary and Historical Association, 1, accessed June 14, 2021, https://dh.howard.edu/bethelliterary/1.

noted that "lack of unity and organization" contributed to African American vulnerability and oppression. This organization has been credited with promoting the development of a national network of Black women's clubs which would come to fruition in 1896 with the formation of the National Association of Colored Women, headed by Mary Church Terrell. During the same period educator and author Anna Julia Cooper would, like Cary, become an influential teacher and later principal of Washington's only Black secondary school, the M Street School. Out of this network emerged a community of Black women intellectuals who would confront, analyze and resist the varied forms of race and gender discrimination that sought to shape and constrain their lives.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN

One hundred- and thirteen-women's organizations combined to form The Colored Women's League in Washington, D. C. in 1892. The League folded into the National Federation of Afro-American Women, a more nationally oriented organization. Formed in 1895, the Federation membership represented a combination of another 85 organizations. Educator Jennie Dean, founder of the Manassas Industrial School in Manassas, Virginia, served as a delegate to the 1896 annual convention. Access to this this influential body of women provided Dean an opportunity to highlight her work at the Manassas school. The educator encouraged the Federation to follow her example in establishing similar industrial schools. Dean viewed an industrial school education as a pragmatic vehicle toward self-sufficiency that produced wage earners through a skillful trade which in turn resulted in becoming landowners, taxpayers and productive citizens.[312]

When these two federations joined together to organize the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), the impetus and inclination for Black women to form a collective had been generations old. The NACW was established in Washington, D. C. on July 21, 1896 in the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church with the motto "Lifting as We Climb." The motto exemplified its mission of self-help. Formed with the intention of both shaping and influencing homelife and in influencing the principles of the nation, the organization sought cooperation of all women. Working toward justice, dignity, and liberty the organization was interested in inspiring all women, but particularly women of color. The association nurtured the desire to be useful in whatever field of work that could meet its ideals.

312 "Dean, Jennie Serepta (1848–1913)," Encyclopedia of Virginia, accessed March 23, 2021, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/dean-jennie-serepta-1848-1913/.

It was a women's organization that brought Washington, D. C.'s own Mary Church Terrell to national prominence when she was elected the association's first president. Harriet Tubman, Fanny Jackson Coppin and Frances E. W. Harper were among the Maryland activists in attendance at the historic gathering that summer. Ida B. Wells Barnett and Margaret Murray Washington were among the younger generation who would carry on the work. Twenty-five states were represented by 73 delegates from a membership of less than 5000. As historian Dorothy Sterling notes, "Racial equality was first on the agenda of these black women activists, but the struggle for woman's rights was a close second." Terrell seriously stepped into the women's suffrage movement in February 1891 at the first National Council of Women convention in Washington, D.C. This affiliation brought with it Terrell's first public stance in supporting voting rights for women.[313]

Historian Stephanie Shaw maintains that these activist women were aware of and responding to "the internal traditions of the African American community rather than activities in the white community." Club women had a long history of engagement with the lessons in racial consciousness and community commitment that came to the fore through their organizing work in the closing years of Reconstruction. Shaw analyzes the formation of the national organization as "another step in an internal historical process of encouraging and supporting self-determination, self-improvement, and community development."[314]

The NACW sought to improve living standards for Black families, push for better working conditions for Black women and their children and provide better educational opportunities for Black youth. The problems of the late nineteenth century, Jim Crowism, the vilification of Black women and the impugning of their virtue, lynching and mob violence and the general deterioration of race relations in the nation were catalysts for action. One club woman described the latter years of the nineteenth century as one of "the most trying period" in the history of Black people in America; "Truly these are days when we are being tried as by fire."[315] Club leaders such as Ida B. Wells Barnett waged active campaigns. Barnett drove

313 Ruby M. Kendrick, "THEY ALSO SERVE": THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN, INC., The Negro History Bulletin, May, 1954, Vol. 17, No. 8, 171-175, 171, accessed March 6, 2021, JSTOR, https://www-jstor-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/stable/pdf/44214997.pdf?ab_segments=0%252Fbasic_search_gsv2%252Ftest&refreqid=excelsior%3Ace9ba3013f577f10bfcb35994e123f2d; Dorothy Sterling, ed., *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), 410.

314 Stephanie J. Shaw, Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women, *Journal of Women's History*, Volume 3, Number 2, Fall 1991, 11-25, 11.

315 Kendrick, "They Also Serve"; Janie Porter Barrett, Locust Street Social Settlement: Founded and Managed by Colored (Hampton, Va.: Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 1912), 19, in the "Harris and Janie Porter Barrett Collection," Huntington Library Archives, Hampton University, Hampton, Virginia. As cited in Stephanie J. Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women," *Journal of Women's History*, Volume 3, Number 2, Fall 1991, 10–25, 10.

the nation through her anti-lynching campaign after her friend Thomas Moss was lynched. Co-founder Mary Church Terrell brought her activist attention to abuses of vagrancy laws, the convict lease system, and peonage. Increasingly these practices posed a threat to the quality and security of Black life.[316]

The NACW concerned itself with improving the condition of women, particularly working mothers. Kindergartens and day nurseries for the infants of working women were established. Sewing classes added a much-needed skill and Schools of Domestic Science taught the art of running and managing a home, and a large branch of Business Women's Clubs focused on skills beyond the domestic. The association established homes for troubled boys and girls. The convict lease system, "Jim Crow" car laws, lynching and "other barbarities" were addressed in the hope remedying and ridding society of such evils. The association gathered and disseminated statistical information concerning the progress and achievements of people of color.[317]

The two fundamental needs that women faced then continue to plague women today: equality of opportunity and of pay, as well as provisions for care for the children of working or absent parents. As a "a national black women's collective" women's clubs' development of community consciousness and social responsibility enabled Black women to "speak more profoundly about problems specific to them as Black women and problems that affected them as they affected the race."[318] As a sidenote, among the major projects sponsored by NACW, were the maintenance of the Frederick Douglass home in Anacostia, and their first permanent National Headquarters at 1114 O Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. Both sites are now national historic sites within the National Park System.[319]

BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATIONS

Both before the Civil War and during Reconstruction African Americans formed all types of associations for mutual protection. Benevolent associations were established across the region for the mutual aid and benefit of free people, widows, orphans and others who might need help in their time of need. In order to help one another in sickness and provide for decent burial, through a system of small

316 Ibid., Shaw.

317 Description of National Association of Colored Women, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1815-1902, Ida Husted Harper, 1851-1931 and Susan B. Anthony, 1820-1906, in *History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 4: 1883-1900*, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage. (Rochester, NY: s.n., 1902), 1051 (Rochester, NY: Privately Published, 1902), 1 page, Alexander Street, accessed March 6, 2021, https://search-alexanderstreet-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C2770800#page/1/mode/1/chapter/bibliographic_entity|bibliographic_details|2770800.

318 Kendrick, "They Also Serve."

319 Ibid.

but regular payments, beneficial societies were formed among small groups of acquaintances or among groups of fellow laborers. A proper burial was high on the priorities. Organizations such as the Mutual Improvement Society, the National Benefit Association, and the Hand in Hand Fraternity formed in Washington, D.C. Locations of the organizations such as Maggie Lena Walker's Independent Order of St. Luke in Richmond, VA, or the Independent Order's progenitor, The Grand United Order of Saint Luke, founded by Mary Prout in 1867 as a Baltimore-based women's mutual insurance society were outside the region. Some local branches did exist in the NCA.[320]

The Order of Moses was also established through the mid-Atlantic states and Midwest in the late 1880s. Through such benevolent associations African Americans could share their resources to help one another in times of need. Organizing around mutual care and shared concerns helped strengthened and united Black communities.

VIRGINIA

The thriving community of Hall's Hill in Arlington demonstrates the interconnections among African American organizations. Hall's Hill had two African American churches, two stores and an Odd Fellows Hall. In 1876, the school moved to the lower floor of Odd Fellows Hall where fifty or sixty children were taught reading, spelling and geography. The school, fraternal, and church organizations provided the social and recreational activities denied or not provided by the county under segregation. Following disenfranchisement of African Americans these same social organizations responded to the necessity of taking increasingly political positions as county-wide organizations took active positions on civil rights issues for Blacks. Residents of Hall's Hill remained active members in these organizations into the twentieth century.[321]

The Harmony Lodge No. 818 of the Grand United Order of the Odd Fellows at 411 South Columbus Street was founded in 1846, when Alexandria was still part of the District of Columbia. Prominent politician and local master carpenter

320 W. E. B. Du Bois, *Economic Co-operation among Negro Americans*. Report of a Study made by Atlanta University, under the Patronage of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., together with the Proceedings of the 12th Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, held at Atlanta University, on Tuesday, May the 28th, 1907: Electronic Edition. (Atlanta: The Atlanta University Press, 1907), https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/dubois07/dubois.html; Prout, Mary Ann, African American National Biography, *Henry Louis Gates and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham Vol. 6* (New York: Oxford University Press); Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, Virginia, NPS, accessed March 3, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/mawa/learn/historyculture/maggie-lena-walker.htm.

321 Lindsey Bestebreurtje, "A View from Hall's Hill: African American Community Development in Arlington, Virginia from the Civil War to the Turn of the Century," Arlington Historical Society, accessed June 14, 2021, http://arlingtonhistoricalsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/2015-3-Halls.pdf.

George Lewis Seaton was not only active in the establishment of the Odd Fellows Society, but also constructed the Odd Fellows Hall for use by the organization. The Odd Fellows Hall, a two-and-a-half-story, rectangular, brick building, is one of the largest structures on South Columbus Street and the largest structure built by an African American except for churches. Located on the west side of South Columbus Street in "the Bottoms," one of the oldest African American neighborhoods in Alexandria.[322]

Constructed in 1864, the Odd Fellows Hall began as a one-story brick building. The original structure was thought to have been built for an African Methodist Episcopal Church, but the church was not successful in maintaining a congregation. In 1869, three African American men, James Webster, Robert Darnell, and John Credit, formed the Odd Fellows Joint Stock Company and purchased the property at 411 South Columbus Street. The Odd Fellows Hall remains one of the sole surviving structures for the period 1790-1951 associated with African American communal organizations.[323]

Joining Harmony at the new hall were R.H. Lancaster Lodge No. 1370, organized in 1868, and G.W. Lodge No. 1431, established in 1869. The Odd Fellows Hall would also serve as a meeting place for other Black secret societies and fraternal organizations, including Masonic chapters and a local Elks lodge. Women's organizations such as the Daughters of Zion Lodge of the Good Samaritans also used the hall.[324] It has been the meeting hall for many secret organizations, benevolent groups, and others established by and for African Americans. Closed to meetings in 1974, it has undergone extensive interior changes due to its conversion into a multiple-family housing unit composed of five separate apartments.[325]

MARYLAND

Although beyond the time period for this report, the 20th century history of a 19th century site such as the Laboring Sons burying ground in Frederick is instructive for understanding the fate of these Civil War and Reconstruction era sites. In Frederick, Maryland, the beneficial Society of the Laboring Sons was formed in 1839. It sought to relieve or alleviate, "both spiritually and temporally, any mem-

322 George Lewis Seaton House, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, accessed June 14, 2021, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDF-Noms/100-5015-0007_George_Lewis_Seaton_House_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf.

323 Odd Fellows Hall, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, accessed June 14, 2021, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015-0005_Odd_Fellows_Hall_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf.

324 Out of the Attic, *Alexandria Times*, Office of Historic Alexandria City of Alexandria, Virginia, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/attic/2011/Attic20110414OddFellows.pdf

325 Odd Fellows Hall, Alexandria Sites on the National Register of Historic Places, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=29750#OddFellowsHall

ber of us, who may be distressed . . . and to see that his mortal remains be interred with decency."[326] The Laboring Sons Society supported the 790 of Frederick's free Black population, or 16% of the city's overall population. Free Blacks who were employed as barbers, tanners, and brick makers as well as shoemakers, blacksmiths and waiters. Some had their own businesses.[327] In 1851, the Laboring Sons Society purchased property to provide a burying place for the city's citizens of color. Over the ensuing 98 years, the grounds, located between 5th and 6th streets on Chapel Alley, were used as a cemetery for African Americans throughout Frederick County. More than 1,500 African Americans were buried for almost a century; including six known Civil War Veterans that served in colored regiments.[328]

After the Laboring Sons Society disbanded in 1949, the property was given to the City of Frederick which pledged to erect a monument on the grounds memorializing those buried there. That never occurred. Rather, at a time of heightened racial segregation, City of Frederick employees paved over a portion of the grounds for an alleyway. A "whites only" playground was installed on the remaining portion of the burial ground. Tombstones were buried in the ground during the process. A majority of the burials were not reinterred to other cemeteries. The grounds remained a playground until 2000, when local citizens began pressuring City Hall officials to have the playground equipment removed and an appropriate memorial erected. Today, it is the site of the Laboring Sons Memorial Ground.[329]

The Rossville/Muirkirk area of Prince George's County was home to the Rebecca Lodge #6 of the Benevolent Sons and Daughters of Abraham, a fraternal organization whose purpose was to support its members in times of illness or emergency. The lodge, now known as Abraham Hall, purchased the largest lot on Old Muirkirk Road. Over the years, Abraham Hall served the African American communities of Rossville/Muirkirk as a meeting place, Methodist church, and schoolhouse.[330] Built in 1889, Abraham Hall is the county's most outstanding example of a late 1800s African American benevolent society lodge. The landmark became a touchstone and center of the African American community of Rossville.[331]

326 Inscription, Laboring Sons Memorial Ground, HMdb.org, THE HISTORICAL MARKER DATABASE, accessed March 28, 2021, https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=110797.

327 Laboring Sons Cemetery, Frederick City, FHD-1301, Maryland Historical Trust, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Frederick/FHD-1301.pdf.

328 Ibid.

329 Laboring Sons Memorial Ground, Preservation Maryland, accessed March 28, 2021, https://www.preservationmaryland.org/best-of-maryland-laboring-sons-memorial-ground-documentary/.

330 Pearl, African American Heritage Survey, 18.

331 *African American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince Georges County, Maryland*, Chapter 3, Rossville, The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Prince George's County Planning Department, accessed September 16, 2019, http://mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/PDFs/254/Chapter%203%20-%20Communities.pdf.

In Montgomery County, Moses Halls were established in Gibson Grove, Norbeck, Emory Grove, and Bethesda. Morningstar Tabernacle #88 lodge of the Order of Moses had a branch in the historic African American community of Gibson Grove in Cabin John. The community was founded in the 1880s when Sarah and Robert Gibson and ten other Black families bought land from a local white landowner. They built their homes that were the nucleus of a community along what is now Seven Locks Road between River Road and MacArthur Boulevard. Some of their descendants can still be found living there. As was typical, immediate concerns turned toward fulfilling the spiritual and educational needs of the community. A local school for Black children was established by 1882. The Gibson Grove AME Zion Church followed sixteen years later and was formally established in 1898 on land donated by founder Sarah Gibson. The community stands proud to belong to a community founded on "self-reliance, education, faith and mutual support."[332]

In 1885 the community established the first documented Order of Moses benevolent society and cemetery in Montgomery County. The society was formally known as Morningstar Tabernacle #88 of the Ancient United Order of the Sons and Daughters, Sisters and Brothers of Moses, or Order of Moses for short. The specific objectives of Morningstar #88 were to provide for the care and education of the orphan children of deceased members, the burial of its dead, and the care and oversight of its sick and destitute.

Moses lodges were established elsewhere in Montgomery County at Norbeck and in Emory Grove before 1900. Lodges built Moses Hall buildings on their sites. In Bethesda, members reported, "Our Morningstar book of minutes documents decades of early meetings from the early 1900s; it is, we believe, the only one existing in the county."[333] The Morningstar Moses Cemetery, established as a final resting place for lodge members, exists to this day on Seven Locks Road. According to residents the foundations of its Moses Hall building are still evident. More than seventy Morningstar ancestors are documented as buried in the cemetery there which has been the subject of much contestation and controversy in the county today as development and encroachment threaten to wipe out the last remaining evidence of the burying ground.[334]

---

332 Alexandra Jones, "Stop Destroying African American Cemeteries," *SAPIENS Anthropology Magazine*, accessed June 14, 2021, https://www.sapiens.org/archaeology/African American-cemeteries-destruction/.

333 "Descendants of the Morningstar Tabernacle 88 Lodge of the Order of Moses Cabin John, Maryland," Bethesda Moses Cemetery, August 11, 2020, accessed March 14, 202, https://medium.com/@IRMediaLLC_39840/bethesda-moses-cemetery-50b386ad82b2.

334 Ibid.

WEST VIRGINIA

Fisherman's Hall located on S. West Street in Charles Town was erected in 1885 by the Charles Town Industrial Association during the Reconstruction era. Such African American enterprises were able to expand despite the strictures of Jim Crow segregation. The Hall served as an educational meeting space for the Black community in the aftermath of the Civil War, according to James Tolbert, president of the African American Community Association of Jefferson County. "It was built by a group of black men who wanted to start a benevolent society, which would teach former slaves about things like banking and health."[335] Established by the Grand United Order of the Galilean Fisherman, Fisherman's Hall became one of the first buildings of its kind in the nation. The three-story building also served as a refuge to organizations that didn't have a meeting space and its members who had no place to go at the time. The extant building at 321 S West St. has undergone extensive renovations and continues to be used today.[336] Similarly, Star Lodge #1 at 218 South Lawrence Street, Charles Town is the oldest Black Masonic lodge in West Virginia and one of the oldest non-secular African American organizations in the state. Originally the members were craftsmen who worked with and erected stone buildings. Star Lodge is still in existence today and has been operating since 1877.[337]

CONCLUSION

In forming their own organizations, African American men and women were better able to effectively assist the newly freed in confronting the challenges inherited from slavery as they moved forward towards the demands of freedom. Those with education and social standing dedicated themselves to "racial uplift" with such mottos as "lifting as we climb" in the face of constant struggle against resubordination, violence, unfair labor practices, segregation, and discrimination. This historical legacy of collective consciousness ensured mutual benefit and civic action in the face of societal opposition and restrictive government legislation. Organization members and participants mobilized and organized over decades. They advanced women's rights and male suffrage. Conventions and organizations shaped the future of Black leadership and fostered the growth of both Black men's and women's public activism.[338] Through these organizations, Blacks sought spaces to thrive that ensured their own survival.

---

335 Chelsea DeMello, "Historic Charles Town building nearly restored," The Journal, January 28, 2015, accessed June 10, 2020, https://wvpress.org/copydesk/insight/historic-charles-town-building-nearly-restored/.

336 Ibid.

337 Star Lodge #1, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.starlodge1.com/history.shtml.

338 The "Conventions" of Conventions, Colored Conventions Project, accessed March 23, 2021, https://coloredconventions.org/black-political-practices/introduction/.

CHAPTER FIVE: COMMUNITY ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN WASHINGTON, D. C. AND VIRGINIA

> [Addressing the freedmen in the District of Columbia]
>
> I answered them by asking another question: "What would make you self-supporting?" Several replied, "Land! Give us land!"
>
> —General O. O. Howard, *Autobiography*

INTRODUCTION

The rapid rate at which the new freedmen and women were able to navigate independence and create communities and institutions at the outset of Reconstruction, revealed that an earlier network or infrastructure had been in place to support their success and progress. Free Black settlements or enclaves had been established in counties in the NCA well before the start of the Reconstruction era, even in the slaveholding states of Virginia and Maryland, which provided the foundation for Black survival in the Area. Before the war, many of the enslaved workers had earned money by hiring out their time—an arrangement where they were permitted to retain any extra monies earned after meeting the slaveholder's financial demands.

Many of those institutions flourished because whenever possible, Blacks were careful to own their homes, the land and the buildings on which they sat and out of which their institutions operated. Institution building and land ownership were always foremost on the mind of the freed and newly emancipated women and men and the Freedmen's Bureau offered great assistance in this endeavor. Each understood the benefits of potential autonomy and independence. Some African Americans sustained themselves by finding success in low-rung government positions that were available to them as well as through productive business opportunities through self-employment, service and local economies. Although rarely discussed in these terms, the business-minded among the enslaved men and women often managed to put aside enough money earned as a result of their hard labor to purchase their own freedom and the freedom of family members and loved ones. They understood what freedom meant on multiple levels. That same entrepreneurial striving and sensibility enabled the freedmen to purchase land, build homes and support their churches. In the years following the war, "the District of Columbia witnessed more than a doubling in the number of Black [people]

who owned businesses (156 to approximately 318) and a significant increase in their average real and personal property holdings."[339] After 1865 percentages of Washington's Black residents jumped from 18% to 31.9%. The District's share of Black residents again increased dramatically in the decade between 1860 and 1870. In contrast to Northern cities, a much larger Black population called Washington home by 1880.[340]

HOUSING DISCRIMINATION

Although the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment was intended to put an end to anti-Black discrimination, and the Civil Rights Act of 1866 specifically sought to make discrimination in housing based on race illegal, the 1896 Supreme Court ruling in Plessy v Ferguson endorsed and reconfigured segregation through its separate but equal doctrine. Historically for each new law intended to end discrimination and unfair treatment, whites devised new circumventing strategies. Locally, from the late 19th century forward, restrictive deed covenants were part of builder's schemes. The covenants maintained residential segregation through racial discrimination, and confined to substandard, overcrowded housing much of Washington, D. C.'s rapidly growing Black population. Such covenants prohibited most of the District's African Americans population from moving beyond the city's old boundaries into new subdivisions. In addition to such covenants, southern African Americans increasingly faced the reign of terror aimed at maintaining them in racial subjugation, effectively driving them from the homes they had already managed to acquire.[341]

WASHINGTON, D.C.

In Washington, D. C., freedmen would intertwine with Civil War veterans, escaped and newly freed men and women, and new migrants to lead the Black community in a hopeful and purposeful stride into the dawn of a new era at the outset of Reconstruction. Whether church, school or civic institution, African Americans led and participated in the rise and spread of formal African American organizations in every section of the NCA. The free Black community in the District had been quietly and methodically establishing the social, educational, and religious

339 David Taft Terry, "A Brief Moment in the Sun: The Aftermath of Emancipation in Washington, D. C., 1862-1869, in Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, ed. *First Freed: Washington, D.C., in the Emancipation Era* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 2002); Loren Schweninger, "Black-Owned Businesses in the South, 1790-1880," *The Business History Review*, 63:1 (1989), 55.

340 John R. Logan, "Racial segregation in postbellum Southern cities: The case of Washington, D.C.," *Demographic Research*, Vol. 36, Article 57, 1759-1784, June 7, 2017, accessed March 2, 2021, https://www.demographic-research.org/volumes/vol36/57/36-57.pdf.

341 Sarah Shoenfeld and Mara Cherkasky, Mapping Segregation in Washington, DC, Preservation Leadership Forum, National Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed June 22, 2021, https://forum.savingplaces.org/blogs/special-contributor/2015/06/22/mapping-segregation-in-washington-dc.

institutions necessary to sustain itself for several decades before freedom came. With freedom, assistance from the Freedmen's Bureau proved invaluable.

The District promised freedom and the safety of emancipation. Escape from slavery, particularly from Prince George's and Montgomery Counties in Maryland, coupled with finding refuge behind Union Army lines, and migration from other sections of the country, meant that new populations of recently freed and other opportunity seekers had Washington, D.C. "bursting at the seams."[342] The city's infrastructure, however, was poor and housing scarce. Thirty thousand penniless, undereducated freedmen and women came in search of a new and better life. According to historian David Taft Terry, the work of established pre-war African American civic, fraternal and social organizations to accommodate the recent arrivals into the fabric of the community went largely unrecorded.[343]

The large surge of Black migrants during the 1860s, primarily heads of households from Virginia or Maryland, led to the construction of alley housing.[344] This disproportionate occupation in allies by Washington's Black residents meant that the odds of a Black person living in alley housing were 15 or more times the odds for a white person. Within the alley pattern distinctive to Washington, "newly arriving African Americans were squeezed into what had originally been the backyards of large lots that then were reconstructed into high-density, low-quality housing along alleys within the residential block."[345] The pronounced alley pattern was established during the early period of Reconstruction when the large influx of African Americans "reversed the racial make-up of alley dwellers from white to black."[346] E. Franklin Frazier reports that in the 1870s that nearly half of Washington's Black population lived in alleys and a recent alley survey places the percentage much higher, at 81% by 1871. Disproportionately, Black residents were pushed into living in Washington's alleyways, while whites primarily lived in homes in the surrounding streets. John Logan's demographic study of the District observed: "The alley pattern – like the backyard – placed the races in close proximity to one another. . . Nevertheless, it is only in a very limited sense that one could describe segregation in this context as 'low,' since the spatial arrangement of people was highly structured by race."[347]

342 Nina Honemond Clarke, *History of the Nineteenth-Century Black Churches in Maryland and Washington, D. C.* (Silver Spring: Bartleby Press, 1987).

343 Terry, "A Brief Moment in the Sun."

344 E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1957).

345 Charles S. Johnson, *Negro Housing: Report of the Committee on Negro Housing* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1932), accessed March 8, 2021, https://archive.org/stream/negrohousingrepo00presrich/negrohousingrepo00presrich_djvu.txt; Paul A. Groves Paul and Edward K. Muller, "The Evolution of Black Residential Areas in Late Nineteenth Century Cities," *Journal of Historical Geography, 1975*; 1:169–191.

346 The DC Historic Alley Buildings Survey, District of Columbia Office of Planning, NPS, accessed June 22, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/shpo/downloads/dc-alleysurvey2014.pdf.

347 John R. Logan, "Racial segregation in postbellum Southern cities: The case of Washington,

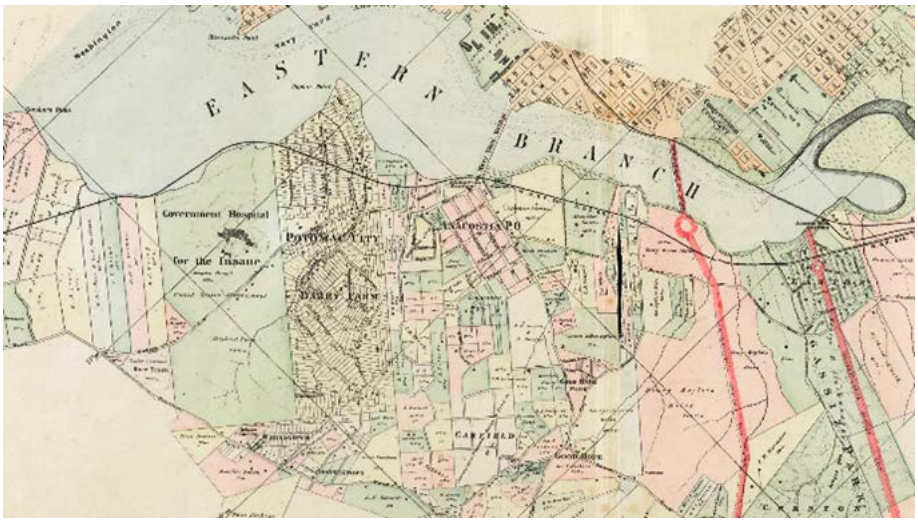


Figure 10. 1887 Map featuring Barry Farm, Anacostia, the Navy Yard and the Eastern Branch of the Anacostia River. "A complete set of surveys and plats of properties in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, 1887 - Plate 44." Image courtesy of DC Public Library, Special Collections, Washingtonian Map Collection

In the pre-Civil War era, alley dwellings in Georgetown and Capitol Hill were the among the few places that free and enslaved Blacks lived and intermingled. In southeast Washington, Anacostia began more than a century ago as an all-white enclave in 1854. After the Civil War, Anacostia became home to a small thriving Black community. Newly freed African Americans were segregated into the nearby sections of Hillsdale which was founded as Barry Farm. Two areas, Barry Farm and Old Anacostia[348] in Southeast Washington, were the first major settlements beyond contraband camps. Barry Farm, one of the early Black communities in Washington, was created in 1867 by the Freedmen's Bureau (See Figure 10). It was established to help relieve the housing crisis as Black refugees arrived in the District in droves.

Special Order 61, issued by General Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, established a board of trustees to oversee the purchase and sale of land.[349] Because the first efforts to buy land had been thwarted after resistance by whites blocked the Bureau from purchasing land near the Navy Yard to the west of the Anacostia, the Bureau purchased in secret, the 375-acre Barry Farm from Juliana and David Barry, heirs of James D. Barry. The Bureau also purchased Stanton farm for permanent housing of the many contraband and freedmen who had poured into the city. The Freedmen's Bureau intended to sell or lease residential lots for housing for use among interested African Americans and simultaneously use the

D.C.," *Demographic Research*, Vol. 36, Article 57, 1759-1784, June 7, 2017, accessed March 2, 2021, https://www.demographic-research.org/volumes/vol36/57/36-57.pdf.

348 Old Anacostia today is a historic district.

349 Sarah Shoenfeld, "The history and evolution of Anacostia's Barry Farm," July 9, 2019, D. C. Policy Center, accessed March 1, 2021, https://www.dcpolicycenter.org/publications/barry-farm-anacostia-history/.

income to fund education. The families pulled together the funds required to take advantage of the land and building materials that were made available through the Freedmen's Bureau.[350]

The land was rapidly surveyed into one acre lots and was constantly inquired for by the working freedmen. Howard noted that those "were taken with avidity." In addition to education and religious freedom, the dream of landownership had been a foremost stimulus of the newly freed men and women. Howard continued, "Everyone who visited the Barry Farm and saw the new hopefulness with which most of the dwellers there were inspired could not fail to regard the entire enterprise as judicious and beneficent."[351] During the late 1860s, approximately 150 families, including all three of Frederick Douglass's sons initially settled in Barry Farm upon moving to Washington in the late 1860s.[352]

Barry Farm became a self-help community with the freedmen laying the roads and clearing the densely wooded area into one-acre plots which were sold to African American families "on time," the price ranging from $125 to $300 an acre. Included in the price was $76 worth of lumber that trustees provided each buyer. The new homeowner entered into a contract that obligated them to build a house on the property; most constructed A-frames. Purchasers paid $10 a month on average which was comparable to rents Blacks were paying for tenements in the city. Not only former bondsmen, but also free Black families purchased lots.[353]

Adjoining military barracks were also renovated and turned into low-income rental units. The community supported two churches and an infirmary. The first landowner in Barry Farm, Reverend William Hunter, also led the way in helping establish Macedonia Baptist Church. The community benefitted from the women who were foundational to the growth of the community. For example, Mrs. Eliza Spottswood Shippen, one of the first Black women landowner in Barry Farms, invested in land and owned several houses and a grocery store on Nichols Avenue SE.[354]

---

350 Barry Farm Site, African American Heritage Trail, Cultural Tourism DC, accessed June 22, 2021, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/barry-farm-site-African American-heritage-trail.

351 O.O. Howard, *Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, Major General, United States Army* (New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 1907), 420-21, accessed March 8, 2021, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002004579588&view=1up&seq=9.

352 Ibid.

353 Portia James, The History of Settlement and Land Use along the Eastern Branch, East of the River, accessed June 22, 2021, http://cdi.anacostia.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Portia-James-EOR-Article.pdf.

354 Portia James, East of the River, 36; Sandra Fitzpatrick and Maria R. Goodwin, *The Guide to Black Washington: Places and Events of Historical and Cultural Significance in the Nation's Capital* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1999, Rev. Ed).

The names of the widely spaced streets honored anti-slavery legislators such as Thaddeus Stevens (PA), Charles Sumner (MA) and Benjamin Wade (OH), in addition to Freedmen's Bureau officials Oliver O. Howard and John Eaton. Those with extra funds purchased additional lots, more lumber and were able to build larger than the stipulated minimum sized homes. Others with more funds, invested in Barry Farms. They purchased multiple lots, erected homes on them and rented or sold them at a profit. Profits from the resale of the property were earmarked to benefit three schools. The trustees envisioned the process as a national model that could be duplicated elsewhere around the country. By 1867, one-fifth of all owners of real estate in Washington, D.C. had been African Americans.[355] By October 1868, $23,000 was available to allocate to three schools derived from the sale of three hundred lots, with nine lots remaining. [356]

Frederick Douglass arrived in Washington from Rochester, NY in the early 1870. Opportunity drew him to the city where he ran a national newspaper for African Americans, *The New National Era*, and served on the Legislative Council. According to John Muller, one of Douglass' biographers, records show Frederick living in the Anacostia area of Barry Farm with one or all of his sons. Solomon G. Brown was also among the Black political class who found a home in Barry Farm. The enclave retained its name until 1873 when residents, unwilling to lift up the name of slaveholder James Barry, decided to rename their neighborhood. Brown, a self-taught scientist and first African American Smithsonian Institution employee, joined with abolitionist publisher Douglass and other prominent residents in petitioning the District of Columbia Legislative Assembly for a name change. The Legislature approved an official act changing the name from Barry Farm to Hillsdale. The new name, however, was never depicted on official maps nor was it universally adopted.[357]

The formative years of the community overlapped with the years when African American leaders and voters were able to play an important role in the governance of the city. Solomon G. Brown stood out as one of most prominent residents of Barry Farm. He served as a trustee of the 15th Street Presbyterian Church. During the short-lived period between 1871 and 1874, the District of Columbia func-

355 Shoenfeld, The history and evolution of Anacostia's Barry Farm; Sterling A. Brown, *A Son's Return: Selected Essays of Sterling A. Brown* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 31.

356 Portia James, *East of the River*.

357 John Muller, *Frederick Douglass in Washington, D. C.: The Lion of Anacostia* (Charleston: The History Press, 2012), accessed June 14, 2021, https://thelionofanacostia.wordpress.com/2012/07/25/frederick-douglass-his-sons-lived-in-greater-anacostia-area-in-early-1870s-before-frederick-douglass-purchased-cedar-hill-in-the-fall-of-1877/; Alcione M. Amos and Patricia Brown Savage, "Frances Eliza Hall," Washington History, Historical Society of Washington, D.C., Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring 2017), 42-54, 47. *JSTOR*, accessed January 23, 2021, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/90007373.

tioned as a federal territory with elected local government. Brown served as a representative from Anacostia and Barry Farm as a member of the Washington, D. C. House of Delegates. Brown successfully fought for improved roads, an adequate sewer system, and new schools. Before 1874, Black residents of Barry Farm-Hillsdale had been active in helping shape public policy before Congress abolished home rule and stripped residents of their role in governing the city.[358]

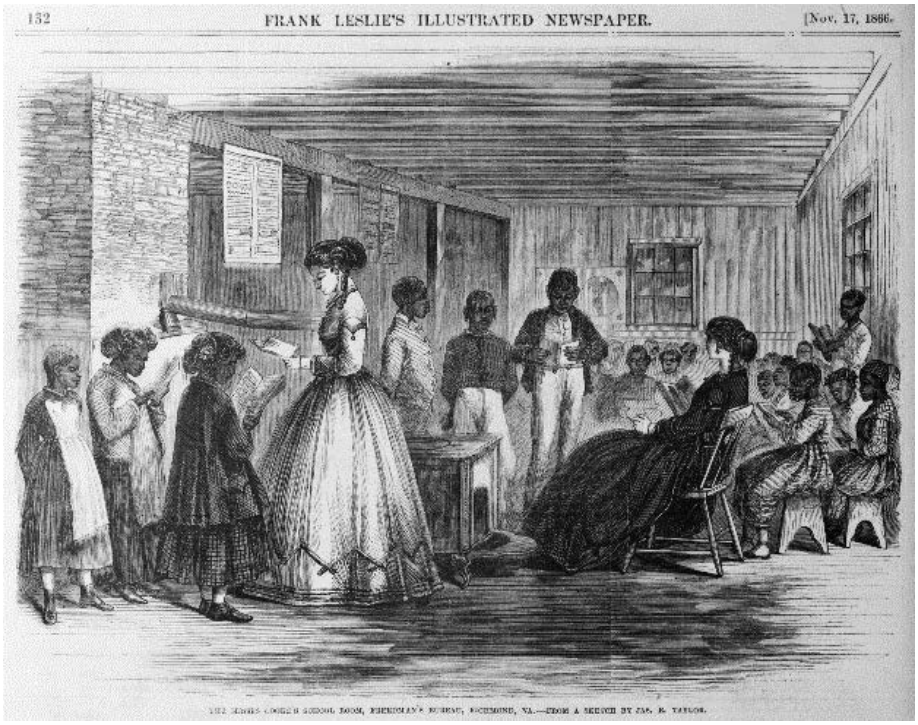


Figure 11. **An example of white women acting as teachers at schools established during Reconstruction. Frances Eliza Hall became one of the first teachers at Mt. Zion Hill School in the Barry Farm community. "The Misses Cooke's school room, Freedman's Bureau, Richmond, VA."** ***Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*****, v. .23, 1866 Nov. 17, 132. LOC**

Frederick Douglass and his wife Anna Murray Douglass moved on and purchased a house in Anacostia (now Old Anacostia) in 1877.[359] The house originally belonged to one of the partners of the Union Land Company that developed Anacostia. Washington's first suburb became home to Douglass and his family who were among the first African Americans to own a house in this primarily white neighborhood. The house, a barn, flower and vegetable gardens plus nine acres comprised the Cedar Hill estate when the Douglass' purchased the property. He also purchased three additional houses located at 2000-2004 17th Street, NW, as a real estate investment. One year later, Douglass purchased adjoining lots and expanded his property holdings from the original nine acres to fifteen acres. In addition to the Washington, D.C. properties, Douglas also owned four properties

358 Solomon G. Brown Residence Site, African American Heritage Trail, Cultural Tourism DC, accessed September 17, 2019, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/web/portal%20/solomon-g.-brown-residence-site-African American-heritage-trail.

359 Within a larger area first known as Uniontown.

in Fells Point, Baltimore. Douglass' son Lewis Douglass lived at 2002 17th Street from 1877 until his death in 1908. After Frederick Douglass' death in 1895, however, Cedar Hill fell into disrepair.[360]

In 1877, revealing the continued progressive, activist stance of the community, 33 African American male and female residents of Barry Farm signed a petition written by Frederick Douglass Jr. in favor of women's suffrage. His wife was among the signers.[361] In addition to these famous activists, Barry Farm was also home to Emily Edmonson, made famous by the attempted escape of 77 freedom seekers on the Pearl in 1848. She and her husband sold their Montgomery County farm and arrived in Barry Farms in 1869 where they raised their children. The family remained there for a lifetime.[362]

Barry Farm had become a thriving community of Black homeowners by the 1890s. Many residents found work at nearby St. Elizabeths Hospital or across the river at the Navy Yard. Skilled craftsmen and truck farmers, businessmen and professionals all were drawn to the sought-after location, ideal for up-and-coming Black families in the region. African Americans continued to purchase lots in Barry Farms as profitable investments into the first decades of the twentieth century. The original owners also subdivided most of the original one-acre lots and were able to sell them at a substantial profit.[363]

In the 20th century, the government initiated the condemnation of a 34-acre section of Barry Farm and took the land through eminent domain in 1941. The construction of Suitland Parkway, also in the 1940s, physically separated the Barry Farm and Hillsdale communities which further disrupted neighborhood stability. Shortly after the parkway divided the community, twenty-three families were displaced, and the single-family homes demolished or destroyed to make way for the construction of public housing units known as Barry Farm Dwellings.[364]

Good Hope Village was also in Anacostia. In 1813, Tobias Henson [or Hanson], enslaved by Henry Evans, managed to save enough money to purchase his

360 Cedar Hill is now a property of an NCA park in the National Park Service system. Frederick Douglass Residence (Frederick Douglass National Historic Site), African American Heritage Trail, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/web/portal%20/frederick-douglass-residence-frederick-douglass-national-historic-site-African American-heritage-trail.

361 Petition for Woman Suffrage signed by residents of the District of Columbia including two of Frederick Douglass's children: Frederick Douglass Jr., and Rosetta Douglass Sprague (Mrs. Nathan Sprague), 1887. (Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, National Archives), accessed March 2, 2021, https://prologue.blogs.archives.gov/2018/03/23/change-at-their-fingertips-womens-petitions-to-congress/.

362 Shoenfeld, "The history and evolution of Anacostia's Barry Farm."

363 James, East of the River, http://cdi.anacostia.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Portia-James-EOR-Article.pdf.

364 Shoenfeld, "The history and evolution of Anacostia's Barry Farm."

freedom well before the Civil War. Immediately upon obtaining his freedom, he earned enough to purchase the freedom of his family members. Henson was able to purchase enough land to ensure they would be self-sustaining. In 1826, Henson purchased a twenty-four-acre tract of land known as the Ridge. A small free African American community developed in the hilly terrain of Good Hope Village where the community established Allen Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church. The house of worship was the first African American church east of the river at least a decade before the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. In keeping with the Freedmen's Bureau's approach toward assistance in the establishment of schools for African Americans after the War, the Freedmen's Bureau opened Good Hope School to serve the Good Hope community. The Reverend John S. Dore became the school's first teacher. When May of 1866 arrived, the school reported 339 students in attendance.[365]

The Brent neighborhood was located in northwest Washington, D. C. John Brent was born into slavery in 1810 and manumitted in 1840. He earned money sawing wood and was able not only to purchase his own freedom but that of his wife, Elizabeth Edmondson Brent, and his father, Elton, as well. Brent paid $800 for his father's freedom.

Elizabeth Brent's younger sister, Emily Edmondson also resided in the District and was well known (along with sister Mary) for the attempted escape on the Pearl. After the sisters were "sold south" as a result of the failed escape attempt, John Brent and his wife worked tirelessly in the search for the young girls and to ensure their freedom. Brent and his family were among the long standing free Black residents who had lived in the District for decades before the War and formed the backbone of the community builders during the Reconstruction period.[366]

Brent owned property during the period between 1865 and 1890. He also purchased property and built homes at 19th and K St. NW. Earning a living as a government employee enabled Brent to purchase land at 18th and L Streets, NW near Dupont Circle where he built the family home where the family lived through the remainder of the century. Brent had eight living children and held a number of jobs. According to the 1870 census, John Brent was listed as a laborer but with personal and real estate assets totaling $4,000. Besides his three children still living at home, there were three boarders in the house, including an extended family member, a living pattern typical of Reconstruction era Black families. Brent's feed store was next to his residence at 1909 K Street NW and would have been another

365 Ibid.

366 Mary Kay Ricks, *Escape on the Pearl: The Historic Bid for Freedom on the Underground Railroad* (New York: William Morrow, 2007).

avenue of income for the family. [367] Across his life, in addition to working for the government as a laborer in the War Department, Brent earned a living through a number of jobs; he worked as a messenger, laborer and feed store operator, but the most important to him was his time as a minister. Even before the Civil War, Brent had been involved in the founding of Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church, however, in 1847 he and his brother-in-law founded the John Wesley AME Zion Church now at 14th and Corcoran Streets. Brent was the founding pastor of the church. Though residents of this community were of mixed racial heritage, many Black families lived in the area. Some were obvious newcomers who were among the tens of thousands of migrants who found a new life in the District. The older children of these new Washingtonians and heads of household had been born in Virginia or Maryland while the District of Columbia was the birthplace of the younger children.

The 1870 census taker listed the occupations of most of the Black men and women who earned a living and sustained themselves as laborers and laundresses. At this point, many could not read or write—one of the factors that added urgency to the educational work of the Freedmen's Bureau. However, John Brent was probably not working as a laborer and was most likely literate as was Paul Jennings who lived on L Street between 18th and 19th. Jennings not only lived near the family, but he was also directly connected to Elizabeth Edmonson's family. Jennings had been one of the supposed organizers of the 1848 Pearl escape. He had been enslaved by Dolley Madison and was the first person to have written a memoir about being held in slavery at the White House. Interestingly, in the Jennings household was a 100-year-old woman, Martha Church, who was employed, as a "ladies nurse." Other Black neighbors worked as hotel waiters and cooks, seamstresses, tailors and tailoresses, carpenters, and drivers. Almost all had other families or seemingly unrelated boarders living in the same household. Perhaps they helped ease the financial load. Some, similar to Brent and Jennings, also had assets ranging in value from 200 to 800 dollars. By 1877, at least one resident, Calvin Thomas Stowe Brent, the second to the youngest child of John and Elizabeth, was working as a draughtsman. Calvin had been named for the husband of Harriet Beecher Stowe.[368]

[367] Calvin T.S. Brent Residence, African American Heritage Trail, Cultural Tourism DC, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/web/portal%20/calvin-t.s.-brent-residence-African American-heritage-trail; Mary Kay Ricks, "Escape on the Pearl," Special to *The Washington Post*, August 12, 1998, H01, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/horizon/aug98/pearl.htm; Patsy Fletcher, Washington Reconstruction Communities.

[368] "John Edmonston Brent," Uncrowned Community Builders, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.uncrownedcommunitybuilders.com/person/john-edmonston-brent.

At the beginning of the Reconstruction period, eleven-year-old Calvin Brent was attending school. By 1874, Calvin had married 24-year-old Albertine Jones, the daughter of Alfred Jones who lived and ran a successful livery and feed dealer business at 21st and K Streets. Following the family custom of wealth building through real estate, Brent owned houses at 1036 18th, 1006 19th, and 17th and V Streets, NW. Brent's wife Albertine had passed away in 1893. When Brent died in 1899, his children continued to live together, with daughter Emma as head of the household in the last family house at 1038 18th Street, NW. Brent served on the Colored School Board and was active in the Republican Party.

The youngest of Albertine and Calvin's eight children, son John Edmonson Brent, went on to become Buffalo, NY's first known African American architect. Albertine worked as a seamstress. Calvin Brent has not only the distinction of being from such an auspicious family—he was also the District's first Black self-identified architect. From 1883, some ten years after permits had to be registered, to 1899, ninety-three permits for over one hundred buildings were issued in his name. There are about thirty surviving Brent buildings, most in historic districts. Calvin Brent's first documented design, St. Luke's Episcopal Church, was founded by the noted African American minister Alexander Crummell. St. Luke's was considered the first Episcopal Church for Blacks that was completely independent of white church control.[369]

One of the locations where the District continued to meet the needs of long-standing and new residents, was in the Shaw neighborhood and in neighborhoods contiguous to it. Notable for the network of alleyways enclosed behind a facade of middle-class residential streets, Shaw contained stately homes in a rich array of architectural styles that faced the streets. In the 1860s, the demand for housing increased, and properties at squares 368 and 367 were subdivided into street-facing and alley-facing lots. Blagden Alley/Naylor Court is now a Historic District bounded by 9th, 10th, M, and O Streets NW. The resulting neighborhood contained an increasing number of middle-class houses on the perimeter of the blocks while the number of inward-facing brick dwellings, lean-tos, and shanties solely fronting the alley exploded. Frequently, the structures had no floors to protect tenants against the cold winters. On hot summertime nights residents were known to stretch out in the alley on ironing boards and rocking chairs to cope with the oppressive heat.[370]

369 Calvin T.S. Brent Residence, African American Heritage Trail, Cultural Tourism DC, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/web/portal%20/calvin-t.s.-brent-residence-African American-heritage-trail; Old Anacostia and Hillsdale, African American Heritage Trail, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/303.

370 The Hidden History Inside Washington, D. C.'s Blagden Alley, National Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed September 3, 2019, https://savingplaces.org/stories/the-hidden-history-inside-washington-dc-blagden-alley.

By 1880, there were sixty-two heads of households inside these two alley systems; all were African American. Hidden from the streets, Blagden Alley like many alley neighborhoods was seen from the outside as unsanitary and dangerous. But from the inside, alley dwellers formed bonds of support as later social workers found. Most residents were employed, albeit in unskilled or service occupations. Some such as John Taylor worked as a caterer during the three years he was found living at 1201 Blagden Alley. Others such as Jesse Lee worked as a waiter but was elevated to barkeeper in Georgetown, where he moved to reside in yet another alley named Foundry Alley. And with high rents further escalating, as many as nine tenants frequently crammed into simple two-room dwellings.[371]

Influential Civil War physician, and Howard University medical school professor, Dr. Alexander T. Augusta resided at 1319 L Street, NW.[372] Initially, the Army Medical Board in Washington rejected Augusta's request to serve as a surgeon to the United States Colored Troops. But Augusta's persistence and the desperate need for physicians to care for the troops prompted the Army to rethink its position. The death rate from illness and disease among Black soldiers was twice the rate of other soldiers. While practicing medicine in Washington, Dr. Augusta was among eight Black doctors commissioned in the U. S. Army during the Civil War. Commissioned a Major as a regimental surgeon (all military doctors were called surgeons) for the 7th Regiment of the U. S. Colored Troops made him, along with Major Martin Delany, the highest-ranking Black officer in the armed forces.

At the end of the war, he was breveted a lieutenant colonel for meritorious and faithful service, one of the few Blacks to achieve field grade rank in the Civil War. Dr. Augusta later practiced medicine in Washington D.C. Considered the first Black professor of medicine in the United States, Augusta taught anatomy at Howard University. Dr. Augusta is buried in Section 1 of Arlington National Cemetery.[373]

Another giant of the Reconstruction era, John Mercer Langston, lived at Hillside Cottage at 2225 4th Street, NW (4th and Bryant). His life cut across educational, political and diplomatic spheres; he left a formidable legacy in Washington, D. C. Langston built "a beautiful, unique Swiss cottage" in the neighborhood of Howard University on an elevation looking toward the Capitol. The three-story building

371 "Alley Improvement Association," in Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations, Nina Mjagkij, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 24-5.

372 List of Members of the Anthropological Society of Washington, September 18, 1882, Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington, Vol. 1 American Anthropological Association (February 10, 1879–January 17, 1882), 1-20.

373 Alexander Thomas Augusta, Major, United States Army, Arlington National Cemetery, accessed March 11, 2020, http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/ataugust.htm.

boasted fourteen rooms. It once stood at the corner of 4th Street and what was then College Street, with its entrance on 4th Street. Langston was particularly proud of the spruce pine, classic sycamore, white birch, and sweet gum trees that graced his acre of land—all gifts from Senator Charles Sumner.[374]

The important residential area in the Shaw District surrounded Howard University. In addition to Dr. Augusta, and John Mercer Langston, Union League founder Andrew Hilyer resided at 2352 6th Street, NW, now part of Howard University's campus. Hilyer championed economic security as key to the ability of African Americans to survive. He founded the League in 1892 in the waning days of Reconstruction to promote economic security and cooperation among the city's Black citizens. Hilyer believed in fighting racism through a public information campaign.

Figure 12. Hillside Cottage, the Washington, D. C. Home of John Mercer Langston. From: John Mercer Langston, From the Virginia Plantation to The National Capitol

Hilyer had earned two law degrees from Howard University by 1895. Subsequently he was employed as a clerk in the Treasury Department The polymath became a successful real estate investor and inventor who secured patents for home heating devices.[375] Howard University's Downing Hall stands where Hilyer's house once stood.

374 John Mercer Langston, *From the Virginia Plantation to The National Capitol* (New York: Fraus Reprint Co, 1969) 522-3.

375 Sandra Fitzpatrick and Maria R. Goodwin, *The Guide to Black Washington: Places and Events of Historical and Cultural Significance in the Nation's Capitol* (New York: Hippocrene Books, rev. Ed. 1999), 106.

The Shaw area also tells the story of the dwellings of freedmen and examples of Black real estate ownership both prior to and following emancipation. The second Empire-style street-facing home of Reconstruction Senator Blanche K. Bruce, the first African American to serve a full term as U.S. Senator, sits in the middle of the block near Mt. Vernon Square at 909 M Street. The Bruce family was surrounded by white neighbors who had Black servants. In the rear alleyways, his people struggled to survive the early years of Reconstruction.

Le Droit Park, on the southern boundary of the Shaw, Howard University area, had been the Civil War site of Campbell General Hospital. In 1873, six years after the founding of Howard University, Le Droit Park was established immediately southeast of the university as an independent segregated suburb adjoining the city. The section was subdivided and subsequently developed as a segregated exclusively white residential area. To reinforce this policy a fence enclosed the enclave to separate it from Howard Town and guards stationed at the gates protected the area and restricted access to it. Between 1886 and 1891, frequent "fence wars" erupted; neighboring Black residents grew tired of the restricted access and being forced to walk around the area. The fence became a symbol of injustice and in July of 1888, the barrier was torn down in protest by African Americans seeking integration. To the south, the neighborhood is bounded roughly by Rhode Island and Florida Aves; to the west by Howard University; Elm St. on the north and 2nd St. on the east.

Octavius Williams, an African American barber became the first person of color to move into the subdivision in 1893. A year later, Harvard trained lawyer Robert A. Terrell, the first African American municipal Judge and his wife, Mary Church Terrell, a distinguished educator and suffragette, club woman and civil rights activist also called Le Droit Park home. Mary Church left an indelible mark on education in the District and was the first African American to serve on the D. C. School Board. Her house, at 326 T Street is a National Historic Landmark. Williams and the Terrells were instrumental in integrating Le Droit Park. By 1901, the fences largely came down and Blacks began moving into Le Droit Park, effectively ending the segregated Howard Town section to the north. Towards the turn of the century and into the twentieth century, Le Droit Park boasted several prominent African Americans including Civil War hero Major Christian Fleetwood. The Le Droit Park area was integrated for only a short time; by the start of World War I, white families had moved out.[376]

[376] "How Le Droit Park Came to be Added to the City, The Washington Times, May 31, 1903, Magazine Features, 5, accessed July 29, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1903-05-31/ed-1/seq-29/; Le Droit Park Historic District, National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/wash/dc65.htm#:~:text=Among%20the%20prominent%20African%20Americans,on%20the%20DC%20School%20Board; James R. Hardcastle, "Howard University Looks to Its Neighbors," *New York Times*, April 4, 1999, Sunday,

VIRGINIA

The jurisdictions in Virginia in the National Capital Area - Arlington (formerly Alexandria), Fairfax, Loudoun, and Prince William Counties, and the city of Alexandria - were greatly influenced by the climate and attitudes in Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy. Defeat and reconstruction were galling realities which whites fought at every turn. Because Union forces had occupied Alexandria and Arlington almost from the beginning of the conflict, those Virginia cities had been forced to embrace Reconstruction, at least on the surface. Revealing the contrasting realities across the NCA, Loudoun and Prince William counties had been occupied by Confederate troops which led to a decrease in their Black populations due to their proximity to Washington, D.C. The loss of enslaved labor used to sustain the plantation economy was acutely felt.

Alexandria Communities

Alexandria saw the rise of its earliest free Black neighborhoods between 1790 and 1810. The first community "The Bottoms," formed in 1798 at the southwestern edge of the city. Blacks were often relegated to inferior land and the community's name signals the condition of the land. Consistent with that understanding, "the Bottoms" received its name because the area rests on less desirable land that sits at a lower elevation than surrounding streets in the southwestern quadrant of Alexandria. Known today as "The Dip," the area is located from South Washington to South Henry Streets and Prince to Franklin Streets. Although most of the original structures have been demolished, the African American community survived from pre-Civil War days, throughout Reconstruction to today. Each of these communities developed institutions and traditions, as residents sought to live as equal citizens with voting rights, equal access to public accommodations, and gainful employment. [377]

A new community, "Hayti," sprang up to the east by 1810 as the neighborhood had extended to the southeast. During this time period, several communities chose the name as a tribute to Haiti, the only country with a successful slave revolt in the western hemisphere. Located at South Fairfax to South Pitt Streets and Prince to Gibbon Streets, in the southeastern quadrant of the city, Hayti took root

Late Edition - Final, Section 11, 7, Column 1, Real Estate, accessed July 28, 2020, http://www.howard.edu/library/ledroitpark/HardcastleJR990404.htm.

377 "A Guide to the African American Heritage in Arlington County Virginia," Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, Second edition 2016, https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.pdf; Schildt, "Freedman's Village: Arlington, Virginia, 1863-1900," *The Arlington Historical Magazine*, 1984 (Vol.7 no.41) 11-21; *A Guide to the African American Heritage in Arlington County Virginia. Department of Community Planning*, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, Second edition 2016, 24, accessed July 10, 2019, https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.pdf.

around the 400 block of South Royal Street, and was the home of many Black leaders, such as architect and master carpenter George Lewis Seaton. In 1869, George L. Seaton, the first African American in the Virginia General Assembly, devoted his position to advancing life for the Black community and breaking down racial barriers. Seaton would go on to build two schools for African American children in Alexandria.[378]

Around mid-century, a community known as "Petersburg" also called "The Berg" may have been named in remembrance of the city of Petersburg from which many of the freedmen had escaped. At its height, nearly 1500 people lived in several hundred houses. Beginning in 1856, nearby "Fishtown" to the south, developed in an area just back from the north waterfront. The name of the town evoked its purpose. Fishtown functioned as a very small seasonal area that filled a need every spring by the fish wharves. Apparently, several of the buildings were built at the beginning of fishing season and then dismantled at the end of their usefulness at the end of the season. Local African Americans worked as hands on the dock or as fish cleaners of shad and herring.[379]

Uptown in the northwestern section of Alexandria was the last among the pre-Civil War areas to develop. The area extended from North Columbus Street west to North West Street and from Montgomery Street south to Cameron Street. By 1870, as many African Americans migrated to Alexandria during the war as well as after, Uptown developed into a large neighborhood with several Black churches. The local Parker-Gray Historic District protects the historic structures in Uptown. In total, Uptown covers about 24 blocks, making it the largest of the historic African American neighborhoods in Alexandria.[380]

In order to defend Washington during the Civil War, Union troops constructed a ring of forts along the Alexandria/Fairfax line. Union forces worried that Confederate forces would try to take the capital city. At the end of the Civil War, land near a number of Union forts continued to symbolize freedom for African Americans. Alexandria's Fort Ward, among the most important, formed one of the strongest links in a chain of 164 forts and batteries that protected Washington D.C. from the Confederate Army. "The Fort" community first arose, in part, as a result of the freedom, rights and opportunities that African Americans experienced after the

[378] George Lewis Seaton House, Alexandria Sites on the National Register of Historic Places, accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=29750#GeorgeLewisSeatonHouse.

[379] "African American Historic Resources of Alexandria, Virginia," Multiple Property Documentation Form, accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015_AfricanAmericanHistoricResourcesOfAlexandria_2003_NR_nomination_MPD.pdf.

[380] Ibid.

Civil War. African American families began relocating on and around the abandoned remnants of Fort Ward, and in the larger "Seminary" community located on Braddock, Howard, King and Quaker Streets. Family ties and marriage in addition to church and work connected the communities. They placed particular emphasis on schools and church.

In the early moments of Reconstruction, the sons of James Peters and William Wood, the two United States Colored Troops (USCT) veterans, moved into "The Fort" and "Seminary." The friends bought land and raised their families together which helped establish an enduring African American community. These men and their families reaped the benefits of the rights their fathers fought to establish. In 1888, the Oakland Baptist Church congregation first began worshiping in a bush arbor known as Oak Hill Baptist Mission in Alexandria. By 1891, several residents of "The Fort" community formally established the church, at the intersection of King Street and Braddock Road, just south of the Oakland Baptist Cemetery, which is a known graveyard surrounded on three sides by Fort Ward Park. The church moved to its current location at 3408 King Street two years later. "The Fort" community thrived for nearly a century, from Reconstruction after the Civil War into the Civil Rights Era of the 1960s.[381]

By 1910, James Peters's son, John and his wife, Ella Ashby, moved to "The Fort" where the family would reside for the next fifty years. William Woods' son, Douglass, had been born into slavery. He was only 8 years old at the start of the Civil War. Later, Douglass Wood brought his family to the "Seminary" community, moving with wife, Matilda, and his mother, Susan there. Woods became successful enough to donate the land for the Seminary School for African American students which opened in 1927. The T.C. Williams High School sits on the land today.[382]

After the Civil War, the early Black neighborhoods expanded, and new settlements developed. One of the new settlements, known as "The Hill" or "Vinegar Hill," as it was sometimes called, was an African American residential area adjoining the Hayti neighborhood (South Union to South Washington Streets and Wolfe to Green Streets). The Hill's derived its name from the expression "out on the

381 "The Fort" Heritage Trail: An Enduring African American Community. The City of Alexandria, Office of Historic Alexandria, accessed July 10, 2019, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/FortHeritageTrailBrochure.pdf.

382 "African Americans and the Civil War—Fleeing, Fighting and Working for Freedom," National Trust for Historic Preservation, The City of Alexandria, Virginia, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/TrailSignsAfricanAmericansAndTheCivilWar.pdf; "Report on Ground-penetrating Radar Surveys: Possible Cemeteries within Fort Ward Historical Park," Alexandria, Virginia October 19-20, 2009, Sarah Lowry, M.A., Alexandria Archaeology, 1, accessed March 18, 2021, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/SiteReportLowry2009FortWardGPR.pdf.

hill," which refers to the African Americans who had moved into the southern city limits during and after the Civil War. Saloons, groceries and Black schools were part of the Hill neighborhood. "Cross Canal" on the north end of town, was located on each side of the Alexandria Canal locks. A mixed community of Blacks and working-class whites known as "The Hump" sat to the west of "Cross Canal." The Hump was located in the far northwestern edge of Alexandria, extending from North Washington Street west to North Patrick Street and from First Street (with a one block jog to Second Street) south to Madison Street. "Colored Rosemont" sat south of "The Hump" and east of the railroad.[383]

Charles and Laura Watson were early African American landowners in Alexandria. In 1874, Laura Watson and her sons established the Sunnyside community, located in the area of West Glebe Road and Mount Vernon Avenue on land bequeathed to her by her husband. Later, the community later flourished as an African American housing development.[384] Civil War veterans were a vital, well-respected part of leadership in these newly formed early Reconstruction communities.

After escaping slavery on a plantation in Prince William County James M. Peters joined the Union Army at Mason's (now Roosevelt) Island in 1863. Assigned to Company E, 1st U.S. Colored Infantry, Peters defended his country in the Siege of Petersburg. His war injures, suffered from the smoke he endured during the siege, left him partially blind. He was wounded in a second battle but managed to remain enlisted until the end of the War. After returning to Prince William County with his wife, Josephine, Peters farmed the land and raised ten children.[385]

William Wood had been held in slavery in Fauquier County, but managed to escape early in the Civil War. He sought sanctuary and safety behind the Union lines. Fleeing to Alexandria and Arlington Heights, Wood toiled as a laborer and teamster to contribute to the Union war effort. Wood first enlisted in the Union Army as a paid substitute soldier in July 1864, and subsequently served in the 39th U.S. Colored Infantry at Petersburg. After falling ill, he was brought back to L'Ouverture Hospital off Duke Street behind the Franklin and Armfield slave pen

383 "History of Alexandria's African American Community," City of Alexandria, Virginia, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/blackhistory/default.aspx?id=37214.

384 "Watson Reading Room," City of Alexandria, Virginia, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/blackhistory/default.aspx?id=37376.

385 "African Americans and the Civil War: Fleeing, Fighting and Working for Freedom," Trail Sign: African Americans and the Civil War, Alexandria Heritage Trail, City of Alexandria, accessed September 3, 2019, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/TrailSignsAfricanAmericansAndTheCivilWar.pdf.

in Alexandria. He died about four months later and was buried in the USCT section of Alexandria National Cemetery.[386]

Figure 13. **Map of Alexandria African American Communities and Institutions. (Courtesy of Howard-Revis Design Services)**

In Arlington County, Freedman's Village was not the only Reconstruction-era community to develop. As Freedmen's Village was being closed by the federal government in order to expand Arlington National Cemetery, displaced people moved to new and developing communities such as Johnson's Hill, South Washington and East Arlington.[387] Nauck, Hall's Hill and Queen City were also among

386 "African Americans and the Civil War: Fleeing, Fighting and Working for Freedom," Trail Sign: African Americans and the Civil War, Alexandria Heritage Trail, City of Alexandria, accessed September 3, 2019, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/TrailSignsAfricanAmericansAndTheCivilWar.pdf; Ted Pulliam, Historic Alexandria: An Illustrated History (San Antonio: Historical Publishing Network, 2011), 44.

387 The Pentagon and its network of roads now stand on the site of Queen City and East Arlington.

the new communities. Indicative of most early post-Civil War settlements, Queen City established a church early on in its existence, first Mt. Zion Baptist Church and later a second church, Mt. Olive, was established.[388]

Hall's Hill in North Arlington also took shape during this era. Bazil Hall, despite his cruel and severe treatment of several young boys that he had held in slavery, also rented land to African American tenants and provided land for a Freedmen's school at Hall's Hill. In 1872, the county formally established Sumner School in Hall's Hill to educate African American children. Land sales to African Americans, however, did not begin until 1881.

During the Civil War, Convalescent Camp, a massive Union hospital, occupied land that would become the Nauck community. A plan of the Camp described the land comprising Nauck as swampy. John Nauck Jr., a sometime real estate developer, began selling parcels of land to African Americans. The community of Green Valley stood adjacent to Nauck. Here freed Blacks had owned land before the Civil War and continued to own land thereafter. Green Valley's Levi Jones, the first African American to own land in the community, purchased fourteen acres in 1844. After his death in 1886, he was able to provide for his wife Sarah Ann Jones who inherited the family home and seventeen acres of land "bordering on land leading to the Seminary." Levi Jones made ample provisions for his wife, leaving her horses, cows and other animals along with farm equipment. She would build on her husband's generosity by erecting a small frame building, Little Zion A.M.E., the first church in the community. Zion Church had been taken down in Freedmen's Village and re-constructed on the Jones property. It served as a church and site of worship on Sundays, a place for business meetings at night, and a public school during the day.

Selina Norris (Gray) of the Nauck community had a connection to Arlington House where she had been born and enslaved. For several years she was enslaved as Mary Lee's personal maid, a condition that required Selina to serve Lee's growing household as well. Mary Custis Lee made the arrangements for Selina's marriage to Thornton Gray. The wedding took place at Arlington House in the same room where Mary had married Robert E. Lee in 1831. According to two of Selina and Thornton Gray's daughters, Emma Syphax and Sarah Wilson, their parents were married "by an Episcopal clergyman from Alexandria, whom Mrs. Lee had come over to perform the ceremony."[389] Reflecting the close relationships between

388 "Some Black History in Arlington County: A Preliminary Investigation," accessed July 10, 2019, http://arlingtonhistoricalsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/BlackHistArl-001.pdf.

389 National Park Service. The African American Story at Arlington House: The Gray Family. Vertical File, Arlington House Library, Arlington, Virginia, accessed February 15, 2019, https://arlingtonblackheritage.org/life-of-gray-family/; Syphax, Emma and Sarah Wilson.

Arlington and Mt. Vernon, Thornton had been enslaved by George and Martha Washington at Mt. Vernon and was apparently freed by them. Thornton became the stable hand and handyman at the Arlington estate. Following their marriage, the Grays had eight children born enslaved at Arlington House: Emma, Annice, Florence, Sarah, Ada, Selina, John, and Harry. While Selina was enslaved by Mary Custis Lee as the head housekeeper at Arlington House, she guarded the property after the Lees fled during the Civil War.

After freedom came, Salina and Thornton Gray purchased a 10-acre property in Nauck in 1867 and were the second African American family to purchase land there. In freedom, they were able to establish their own home in what was called Convalescent Camp, a community located along present-day Shirlington Road in Green Valley. The Grays farmed their fifteen-acre property and sold the harvested produce at the corner of Seventh Street and Louisiana Avenue in Washington.[390]

Even though his father had been freed, Harry Gray, one of Salina and Thornton's younger children, followed the condition of the mother and was born into slavery and grew up enslaved on the Custis-Lee estate, performing odd jobs around the mansion. Notably, he became a skilled mason who constructed the high masonry wall that still surrounds what is now Arlington National Cemetery. After emancipation, Harry Gray worked for forty years as a clerk and messenger at the Department of the Interior and also at the Blink West Brickyard. Harry tended his own ten-acre farm. By working three jobs, he built the home of his dreams, an elegant brick Italianate freestanding townhouse for his wife and for his children. Working at the Blink West Brickyard allowed Harry to buy the bricks for the home when he could afford them, and over many years, bit by bit, he built a two-story row house on his farm in the Arlington View neighborhood.[391] In total, the house cost him about $1,800 to build, more than twice the cost of the land on which it sat. When the Gray family finally moved into their new home on May 1, 1881, it was the only one of its kind in the area. The home at 1005 South Quinn Street, Arlington, is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.[392]

Personal Statement (6 December 1929). Vertical File, Arlington House Library, Arlington, Virginia, accessed February 15, 2019, https://arlingtonblackheritage.org/life-of-gray-family.

390 The Black Heritage Museum of Arlington, Virginia, Life of Gray Family, https://arlingtonblackheritage.org/life-of-gray-family/; A Guide to the African American Heritage of Arlington County, Virginia, Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Second Edition 2016, accessed September 15, 2019, https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.pdf; Gillem, Martha Gray. Interview. 1963. Vertical File, Biography – Gray, Virginia Collection, Arlington County Central Library, Arlington, VA. accessed February 15, 2019, https://arlingtonblackheritage.org/life-of-gray-family/.

391 "Arlington County Historical Notebook." *Vertical File, Biography – Gray*, Virginia Collection, Arlington County Central Library, Arlington, Virginia.

392 "Harry W. Gray House," National Register of Historic Places, (VDHR 000-0515), accessed June 6, 2020, http://arlingtonva.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2015/04/Harry-W.-Gray-House-Final-PDF.pdf; "The Harry W. Gray House in Arlington, VA: A Na-

In Arlington, Charles and Maria Syphax also had been enslaved by the Custis family on Arlington Plantation. Charles Syphax had been born at Mount Vernon, the home of his mother's owners, Martha and George Washington. George Washington Parke Custis, their adopted grandson, inherited Charles when the former president died in 1799. Custis also inherited a thousand-acre parcel of land situated immediately across the Potomac River from Washington City. Here Custis built Arlington House, a Greek Revival home atop a hill that provided expansive views of the river and the city. Custis eventually relocated Charles to his plantation called Arlington.

In 1862, Charles Syphax received his freedom and went on to play a significant role at Freedman's Village, the community for freemen and freedom seekers that the federal government established on Arlington's grounds. His wife, Maria Carter Syphax, was the only person once enslaved by the Custis family to own property at the Arlington estate. She was the daughter of Airy Carter, enslaved by George and Martha Washington at Mt. Vernon, and George Washington Parke Custis.[393] In 1888, she informed a newspaper reporter, "I am General Custis' daughter. He told me so face to face."[394]

In 1826, Maria and her children, Elinor and William Syphax, received from Custis both their freedom but a seventeen and one-half acre plot of land located in the southwest portion of the Arlington estate.[395] It had been set apart for her and she and her family would live on the land for forty years. Later, during Reconstruction, the land was confiscated. In May 1866, Maria's son, William Syphax, successfully petitioned the government on behalf of his mother's estate. "Under the circumstances, the Committee thought it no more than just, the Government having acquired title to this property under a sale for taxes, that this title should be confirmed to her."[396] On June 11, 1866, Congress approved the act for the relief

tional Historic Landmark," The Black Heritage Museum of Arlington, accessed February 15, 2019, https://arlingtonblackheritage.org/harry-w/.

393 See Cassandra Good, "George Washington Parke Custis," George Washington's Mt. Vernon, The Fred W. Smith National Library for the Study of George Washington at Mt. Vernon, https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/george-washington-parke-custis/; "Lovely Arlington," *Morning Star* (Rockford, IL), September 4, 1888, as cited in Good, "George Washington Parke Custis," accessed September 15, 2019, https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/george-washington-parke-custis/.

394 D.E. Abbott, "The Land of Maria Syphax and the Abbott Mausoleum" *Arlington Historical Magazine*, 7, no. 4 (date), 67; The National Park Service staff at Arlington House present Syphax's lineage as definitive. Custis freed Maria and her children in 1845. Slave Manumissions in Alexandria Land Records, 1790-1863, Alexandria Hustings Court deed books, E-3:425, transcribed at http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/resources/documents/manumissions.shtml.

395 Maria Syphax's land claim was recognized by the federal government via an act of Congress (Statutes at Large, 39th Congress, 1st Session, p. 589, Chapter 121 – An Act for the Relief of Maria Syphax, June 12, 1866; D. Priest, "Arlington bequest a Footnote in Black History," *The Washington Post* (27 Feb. 1990), B5.

396 F. & J. Rives, *The Congressional Globe: The Debates and Proceedings of the First Session of the*

of Maria Syphax which President Andrew Johnson signed the following day. The significant success of the case for not only for the Syphax family but for African Americans in general demonstrated that the court system could be used to claim their civil rights and succeed.[397]

John B. Syphax, son of Charles and Maria Syphax, was born free in 1842 and was educated in the public schools of Washington D.C. As an adult, he, like his other family members, was a landowner in Arlington County. John Syphax held many elected offices under the Republican Party banner. He served as justice of the peace of the Arlington Magisterial District and delegate to the Virginia General Assembly. He served on the Board of Supervisors (1872), Clerk of the Court (1872), Virginia House of Delegates (1874-1875), County Treasurer (1875-1879), and Justice of the Peace (1879). His pioneering achievements, like those of his brother William, helped pave the way for future generations of Black Arlingtonians.[398]

Fairfax County

Gum Springs survives as the oldest African American Community in Fairfax County and one of the oldest in the United States. The town of 2,500 residents is located close to Mt. Vernon Estate and was established in 1833 by West Ford after receiving his freedom from George Washington. The community gained a reputation for assisting freedom seekers. Anthropologist John Vlach described the community as a "muddy wetland, hardly prized for farming back then, and a place without paved roads until modern times." Up to five hundred of the town's current residents are descended from the original founding families.[399] One resident observed, "Here is an original black community that can trace its roots to the beginning of the nation."[400]

In Laurel Grove, freed people established a congregation in the early 1880s. They held church services on Beulah Road, near a grove of laurel. Nauck's Thorton Gray was listed as one of the church trustees. Freedmen and women, desiring an education for their children, established Laurel Grove school. In 1881, Georgianna and William Jasper who had once been enslaved, donated the land and deeded a half-acre to the segregated Virginia School System for the Laurel Grove Colored School. The one room schoolhouse served African American children in

Thirty-Ninth Congress (City of Washington: The Congressional Globe Office, 1866), 2674.

397 Abbot, The Land of Maria Syphax, 66; The Black Heritage Museum of Arlington, Virginia, accessed February 15, 2019, https://arlingtonblackheritage.org/the-syphax-family/.

398 Abbott, *The Land of Maria Syphax*, 79.

399 Gum Springs Historical Society and Museum, Northern Virginia, accessed June 20, 2021, https://www.virginia.org/listing/gum-springs-historical-society-and-museum/254/.

400 Francis X. Clines, "A Place in Virginia Called Gum Springs," *New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1985, A. 26.

Franconia until 1932. The school stands today as the only extent African American schoolhouse in Northern Virginia.[401]

African Americans, enslaved and free, had been living in Falls Church for decades before the Civil War. Falls Church school for African Americans was first established in 1864. That same year, Harriet Brice, a free Black woman, was able to purchase land in Falls Church at the intersection of East Fairfax Street and Douglass Avenue in an area known as Tinner Hill on the south-central border where the City of Falls Church meets Fairfax County.[402] She and her husband George farmed the land. The community worshipped together as Black Baptists and Methodists until 1867. At first services were held in the Brice's home until the community erected a log building for church services and Sunday School.[403]

The self-sustaining farmers, entrepreneurs, and skilled craftsmen thrived and expanded the community between 1865 and 1890. Harriet and her husband George helped lay the foundations of a community that sought independence, and landownership, education, religious freedom, and economic opportunity. The free Black community expanded as a result of the self-sufficient farmers, entrepreneurs, and skilled artisans who lived there. The Brices held the first Methodist church services in their home until a log building could be erected for services and Sunday school. They continued their community support and helped purchase land for Galloway United Methodist Church in 1867. Others would follow their example and by land along Annandale Road.[404]

Frederick Foote, Jr., also of the Tinner Hill community, entered local town politics and became the town constable, in 1876, one year after Falls Church became independent from Fairfax County. Despite the fact that in 1881 he became the first African American elected to the Town Council in Falls Church, African Americans were already experiencing a weakening of their civil rights and political power that forecasted the rising tide of state and local racial hostility that lay ahead. By the

401 Laurel Grove School Museum, accessed June 20, 2021, http://www.findglocal.com/US/Alexandria/919801181440175/Laurel-Grove-School-Museum; Fairfax County History Commission Historical Highway Markers Map Tour, Fairfax County Department of Planning & Development, accessed June 20, 2021, https://fairfaxcountygis.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=ba14ba6c3ec04705aa0e2ad5f7108bb0.

402 According to the South Washington Street Corridor Planning Opportunity Area 2, after Falls Church became a township within Fairfax County in 1875, the town boundary included all of the Tinner Hill neighborhood. Subsequently in 1887, much of the Tinner Hill neighborhood was excluded from Falls Church when the town government moved the boundary line northward, accessed June 20, 2021, https://www.fallschurchva.gov/DocumentCenter/View/852/Background.

403 "A Brief Historical Sketch of the African American Presence in Falls Church," Tinner Hill Heritage Foundation, African and African American Studies, George Mason University, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Virginia, accessed June 20, 2021, http://www.100yearsblackfallschurch.org/history.

404 Ibid.

end of the century, Black residents in Falls Church had to cope with the abandonment of efforts toward equality and further dismantling of their civil rights under an "increasingly racialized system of economic, political and social discrimination and enforcement of racially divisive legislation" that worsened in the first half of the twentieth century.[405]

Loudoun County

Churches and schools were formed across Loudoun County. Between 1864 and 1900 thirty African American churches were established in the County. Even with its strong Quaker and Methodist influences, the County sought to keep newly freed in a place of subjugation. Blacks were denied to right to serve on juries, for example.[406] As the county developed, the Black hamlets were not included in the political boundaries of new townships.[407]

There were roughly forty-five historic African American settlements in Loudoun County (See Table 12).[408] Even before the Civil War, Prissy Lewis, a Black washerwoman, owned her own house in Lovettsville, located at the northern most tip of the Commonwealth. The African American presence in Lovettsville is marked by several entries in the official records and census returns. The house most closely linked with the Black experience in Lovettsville is the Mollie C. Morgan House, possibly still standing at the rear of 14 South Loudoun Street. The surname "Morgan" appeared in the Lovettsville area record of "Free Negroes" in the 1850s.[409]

Two Lovettsville area residents, Samuel Rustin and Joseph Rivers were among the African American grantees for the African Chapel and cemetery property on North Berlin Turnpike. Both lived outside the town, and it would appear that the African American congregation attracted worshippers from beyond local town of Lovettsville. The African American church lot was clearly identified on an 1876 map of the town as the "African Chapel." As with most counties throughout the

405 A Brief Historical Sketch of the African American Presence in Falls Church, Virginia. George Mason University and the Tinner Hill Heritage Foundation, accessed July 10, 2019, http://www.100yearsblackfallschurch.org/history.

406 In spite of a judge's ruling, the first Black man called to serve on a jury did not occur for some 50 years, when Augustus Valentine was added to the jury rolls in 1939.

407 Ibid, 16-17; The Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library, ed., *The Essence of a People: Portraits of African Americans Who Made a Difference in Loudoun County, Virginia*, (Leesburg, 2001), 4.

408 Table Compiled from: Eugene Scheel, "Timeline of Important Events in African American History in Loudoun County, Virginia," The History of Loudoun County, Virginia, https://www.loudounhistory.org/history/African American-chronology /#:~:text=By%201880%3A%20Sixteen%20of%20the,)%2C%20Rock%20Hill%20near%20Lincoln%2C; History Matters, LLC, Loudoun County African American Historic Architectural Resources Survey, September 2004, 73-79, accessed June 14, 2021, https://www.loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/6978/Loudoun-County-African American-Architectural-Res?bidId=.

409 Lovettsville Historic District, Register of Historic Places Registration Form, accessed September 15, 2019, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/255-5001_Lovettsville_HD_2012_NRHP_FINAL.pdf.

Area, Loudoun County's African American churches were also closely tied to educational institutions. The chapel served as a school for African Americans as well a house of worship. The Church, which was later identified as the African Episcopal Church, ranks as the district's most significant resource related to the African American history of the community. The chapel was constructed circa 1870. The adjacent cemetery contains nineteen marked burials according to a Loudoun County cemetery database.[410]

The text of the memorial at the chapel reveals the initiative of its founding members and the acceptance they found in Lovettsville. "This memorial Garden is dedicated to Samuel Rustin Lee Simons, Claiborne Bailey, Joseph Rivers, and Matthew Harvey. These five men, born as slaves, traveled from Orange County, Virginia to settle in the German settlement of Lovettsville, Virginia. They held dear to the idea of being free, owning property, and starting a new life." The property. These five men bought the church property on the northwestern end of the town settlement did not support slavery and believed that every person should have the right to own where Broad Way intersected with the Berlin Turnpike, for the African American Episcopal Methodist Episcopal Church, on September 15, 1869, in the amount of $60.00.[411]

Historic African American Settlements in Loudoun County, VA

NAME OF SETTLEMENT
Arcola
Berryman
Bowmantown ("Down in the Flats")
Britain (Guinea or New Britain)
Brownstown (Swampoodle)
Brown's Corner
Butcher's Hollow
Conklin
Dover
Gleedsville
Guinea Bridge
Hamilton
Hillsboro
Howardsville
Hughesville

410 Ibid.; Weatherly, Yetive Rockefeller. "Lovettsville: The German Settlement." Lovettsville, VA: The Lovettsville Bicentennial Committee, 1976, accessed September 15, 2019, https://www.loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/6978/Loudoun-County-African American-Architectural-Res?bidId=.

411 United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet, Lovettsville Historic District, Loudoun County, Virginia, Section 8, 60.

NAME OF SETTLEMENT
Lincoln
Lovettsville
Lucketts
Macsville
Marble Quarry
Middleburg
Millsville
Murphy's Corner
Nokesville
North Fork
Oak Grove
Oatlands vicinity
Paxson/Berkley
Powell's Grove
Purcellville
Rock Hill (Middletown or Midway)
Rock Hill (near Lincoln)
Round Hill
Scattersville (Mt. Pleasant)
Short Hill
St. Louis
Snickersville (now Bluemont)
Stewartown
Sycolin
Turner Town
Waterford
Watson (Negro Mountain)
Willisville
Windy Hill
St. Louis, Millsville, Rock Hill and Willisville are sister communities to Howardsville.
An unnamed village along Snickers' or Butcher's Branch near Snickersville,
Conklin and Willis, where present-day Dulles Airport is located, also were once Black communities.

Table 1. Historic African American Settlements in Loudoun County, Virginia. Compiled from Loudoun County African American Historic Architectural Resources Survey, 72, https://www.loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/6978/Loudoun-County-African American-Architectural-Res?bidId=; Willisville Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wpcontent/uploads/2019/09/0535116_Willisville_Historic_District_2019_NRHP_FINAL.pdf

Founded in 1874, the hamlet of Howardsville northwest of Middleburg, south of Route 7 is one of the first predominantly Black communities in Loudoun County. It is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places yet, until 2019, it did not have running water servicing the community. During Reconstruc-

tion, white property owners William and Mary Stephenson sold 28 acres of land that could not be perked to several Black families, meaning the soil could not absorb enough water to install a septic system. Jacob and Sophia Howard were among them.

Turner Town is another freedmen community that still exists today. The Lloyd family owned the land and formed the community. Generally, the lots were on poor and wooded land. In a 2019 interview, Turner Town descendant Arthur Lloyd recalled, "I think if you total up all of the acres here, you'd only have about 20 acres of land divided amongst five or six families." The first Turner Town home, dating to the late 1800s, still stands on the property. Armstead and Henrietta Turner, Arthur's great-great-grandparents, moved into the home after being freed. At present, seven generations have lived on the Turner Town property. Descendants ". . . Kevin and Arthur hope that one day, these communities will have their own historical markers to help protect and preserve the stories of the settlers."[412]

In July 1866, Black trustees for "the Colored people of Waterford and vicinity" bought the first land for a school for Blacks in Waterford.[413] In 1878, a deed noted that the first Snickersville (now Bluemont) public school for Blacks was opened on land "upon which is now a house used as a free school for education of colored people, and also used as a place of public worship by said colored people." Noted on the deed to the Snickersville School was Dr. Benjamin Franklin Young, first known Black physician in the area. Young had learned his profession by apprenticing under Snickersville physician Dr. George E. Plaster, former lieutenant in the Confederate Army. Later, the First Baptist Church of Bluemont was organized in the community in 1888.[414]

Different towns and communities experienced Reconstruction differently according to the political climate that surrounded them. In Leesburg in 1883, Blacks leaders held a mass meeting to protest their lack of rights. A year later, a large, four-room school for Blacks opened on Union Street in Leesburg. All Black schools there were officially designated by letters until 1919; white schools were identified by numbers. The school which still stands is "A," in Leesburg District.[415]

412 Bria Lloyd, "Descendants of African American settlers work to preserve history of early settlements," Local DMV.com, February 15, 2019, accessed June 14, 2021, https://www.localdvm.com/black-history-month/descendants-of-African American-settlers-work-to-preserve-history-of-early-settlements/; https://www.loudounhistory.org/history/African American-chronology/.

413 Ibid.

414 Eugene Scheel, "Timeline of Important Events in African American History in Loudoun County, Virginia," accessed March 20, 2021, http://www.loudounhistory.org/history/African American-chronology/.

415 Ibid.

Black businesses also thrived in Loudoun County. In 1888, barber Verdie Robinson relocated his business from Baltimore to Leesburg. He operated a "whites-only trade"; barbers cut the hair of their Blacks patrons at their homes at half the price. Robinson's, now on Loudoun Street, is the county's oldest operating Black business. Another Black barber, George William Lee, opened his Purcellville barbershop in 1893 and continued cutting hair for whites only until retiring in 1950. Around 1890, Jim Jackson opened a store for business at Oak Grove. It closed in 1930 and was the longest-operating Black business in eastern Loudoun.[416]

Prince William County

For a century after the Civil War, Manassas in Prince William County functioned as a segregated city. Schools and churches, clubs and public accommodations were all segregated. Yet, since early days of its formation, Prince William County was home to free African Americans. During the early moments of Reconstruction, the new freedmen and women left plantation life behind to experience a life in new communities. It was not unusual, however, for them to stay in the familiar places where they had always lived among friends, family and safety. Kinship and social ties already existed and with freedom social support and economic structures strengthened. Within 10 or 20 years after freedom from slavery, many African American residents of Prince William and of the surrounding counties were able to buy land although the lots were small and "generally poor for farming.[417]

Prince William County is also home to the Settlement Historic District, established in the northwestern section of the county late in the nineteenth century. This hilly, partially flood-prone area is roughly one mile east from the center of Gainesville. Sally Grayson first bought 7 acres of land in the Settlement. Grayson and other African American families residing there established the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church. Members built a log church on Sally Grayson's property. Originally established as "Beulah Church" in 1882, trustees later changed the name to the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church.[418]

---

416 Ibid.

417 Steven Bernstein, Manassas: How This Southern City Came To Be More Than a Battlefield, HISTORYNET, August 2019, https://www.historynet.com/manassas-how-this-southern-city-came-to-be-more-than-a-battlefield.htm; Mount Pleasant Baptist Church and Cemetery, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, DHR # 076-6009, accessed June 20, 2021, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/076-6009_Mount-PleasantBaptistChurch_2020_NRHP_FINAL.pdf.

418 The Settlement, DHA Preliminary Information Form (PIF) for Historic Districts, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, accessed June 21, 2021, https://eservice.pwcgov.org/planning/documents/archaeology/the_settlement/Preliminary%20Information%20Form%20-%20The%20Settlement.pdf; Mount Pleasant Baptist Church and Cemetery, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, NPS, accessed March 20, 2021, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/076-6009_MountPleasantBaptistChurch_2020_NRHP_FINAL.pdf.

After disassembling the log building, it was moved on a horse drawn wagon and then reassembled on the one-acre property that same year. The congregation became known as the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church. A fire—potentially arson--destroyed the log building after Mount Pleasant Baptist Church was moved. In 1889, the congregation rebuilt the church a few yards west of the old building. The present church stands at the same place. Evolving over its history as an African American community in segregated Virginia, The Settlement grew in importance to support its own church, dance hall, restaurant, and school. Industrious African Americans of Reconstruction-era Prince William County established settlements mainly on land that they owned. [419]

In addition to The Settlement, Dumfries District has a long African American history in the county. The Cole family appears to have been in Prince William County since 1767. From at least 1810, a sizable mixed-race community existed in the Dumfries District together with the mixed-race communities of Hickory Ridge and Batestown. Together, these communities, home to farmers and mine workers, preachers and teachers, became known collectively as the Cabin Branch Community.[420]

Joseph Reid operated the largest farm of any of the Black landowners in Hickory Ridge. The community formed around the land originally purchased in 1869 by Zeal Williams, the first African American property owner in the area. The Cabin Branch School, also known as Clarkson school, was established in 1889 and located on today's Mine Road to accommodate local African American children.[421]

Self-sufficient Batestown, located on rich farmland 30 miles south of Washington, was on the farthest end of Mine Road, now a western neighborhood of Dumfries, along the banks of Quantico Creek. The community survived largely through a barter system. As with so many of the pre-Civil War and Reconstruction communities, the church was the center of community life. By the end of the nineteenth century, Batestown was home to 150 residents. Mary Bates Thomas, matriarch of the community, used her ability to read and write to help her community and often wrote letters for those who could not read nor write. Once held in slavery, she and her husband John Thomas became stalwart members of the Black community.[422]

419 Ibid.

420 African American History (1830-1936), Prince William Forest, NPS, accessed March 20, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/African American.htm.

421 African American History (1830-1936), Prince William Forest, NPS, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/African American.htm.

422 Kari Pugh, "Stolen Land: Life After the Civil War," February 15, 2005, WUSA9.com, accessed July 5, 2020, http://www.wusa9.com/news/news_article.aspx?storyid=37158.

Jane Barnes and her three children had been enslaved by Moses and Nancy Copen in Prince William County. At the end of the war, Barnes and her children received a house and 7 ½ acres from Permilia Copen, Moses' and Nancy's only child. Originally located in the town of Independent Hill, the house was first built in 1797 as a tavern along Joplin Road. The Barnes House is among the oldest structures in the county. Jane Barnes' children have been difficult to trace but in 1875, one son, Eppa returned to the area and married Amanda Lambert. In 1899 they bought the Copen Farm where Eppa had once been enslaved. Eppa and Amanda's successes were apparent over their lifetime. The couple purchased more than 300 acres of farmland, their home, and raised twelve children.[423]

Lucasville, a community of historical significance in Prince William County, was founded by freed slaves. Named for the family of Charles Lucas, who had once been held in slavery, the Lucasville community had become the largest African American village in central Prince William County by 1880. The community had a one-room school that opened in 1883.[424]

South of Lucasville, James Robinson, who had been born free, was one of Virginia's first free African American landowners. Robinson was able to save enough money to purchase land in Manassas in 1840. He bought 170 acres from John Lee, for $484.94. Over the next ten years, Robinson made several additional business deals or improvements to his property. He sold a portion of his land and built a one-and-a-half story house on his property. He also rented land from another landowner for use in growing grain. While he was expanding his holdings of land and building a small farm, he continued to do other kinds of business in the community. By 1861, James Robinson had established himself as a successful member of the Manassas community.[425]

During the first Battle at Bull Run, James Robinson's house survived although it stood in the middle of the battlefield.[426] Bodies littered the fields of Manassas; James Robinson and his family buried many in unmarked graves. One measure of the magnitude of Robinson's success can be gauged by his war claims. In 1862, Robinson filed a $2,608 claim with the Southern Claims Commission for the loss of food, tons of hay, livestock, fence posts, and goods from his house. Robinson

423 Barnes House, Historic Preservation, accessed July 15, 2019, http://www.pwcgov.org/government/dept/park/hp/Pages/Barnes-House.aspx.

424 "Celebrating 275 Years of Black Heritage in Prince William County," Prince William Library System, accessed July 15, 2019, https://www.pwcva.gov/assets/documents/library/Celebrating_275years_of_Black-Heritage.pdf.

425 Erika Martin, Mia Parsons and Paul Shackel, Commemorating a Rural African American Family at a National Battlefield Park. International Journal of Historical Archaeology, vol. 1, no. 2, 1997, 157–177. JSTOR, Accessed 21 June 2021, www.jstor.org/stable/20852880.

426 Biography of James Robinson, Manassas National Battlefield Park, accessed July 15, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/mana/learn/education/upload/Res1_JamesRobinsonBio.pdf.

sought compensation for supplies taken by the Union Army. He lost wheat, corn, and potatoes, two horses, seven hogs and two fat cattle. In addition to barrels of fish and groceries, the army took his beds and other furniture. During the second Battle of Bull Run a year later, the Robinson house served as a planning station and field hospital for Union troops and he and his family served as nurses for the Federal forces. Following James Robinson's death in 1875, his son Alfred took over the property which the family occupied well into the twentieth century. The house was destroyed by arsonists in 1993.[427]

[427] James Robinson Written Claim Filed with Southern Claims Commission, Manassas National Battlefield Park, NPS, https://www.nps.gov/mana/learn/education/upload/Res5_JRobinson_claimSCC.pdf; Robinson House, Virginia Historical Markers, http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMK0Q_James_Robinson_House; "Census Records." Alfred Robinson, Ancestry.com; James Robinson House, Manassas National Battlefield, NPS, accessed March 4, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/mana/learn/education/upload/Res2_RobinsonHouse_photoinfo.pdf.

CHAPTER SIX: COMMUNITY ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN WEST VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

> . . . we cannot follow the class structure of America; we do not have the economic or political power, the ownership of machines and materials, the power to direct the processes of industry, the monopoly of capital and credit. On the other hand, even if we cannot follow this method of structure, nevertheless we must do something. We cannot stand still; we cannot permit ourselves simply to be the victims of exploitation and social exclusion. It is from this paradox that arises the present frustration among American Negros.
>
> —W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*

INTRODUCTION

African Americans lived and worked in the Shenandoah River area of Virginia before the Civil War, in what is now the Eastern panhandle of West Virginia. Their presence was one factor that persuaded John Brown to consider the area ripe for his abolitionist cause. What few free Blacks there were, could be found clustered in small self-contained communities, or towns such as Johnsontown or nearby Shepherdstown. Local enslaved workers had operated the ferries at Harpers Ferry. Before West Virginia became a new state, 89% of the African Americans living in Jefferson County had been held in slavery. The county had the highest number of enslaved laborers among the counties that were to become West Virginia. In Reconstruction decades, the Black population never climbed to its pre-Civil War numbers. Neither in overall percentage of the population nor in total numbers. Best known historically as the site of Harpers Ferry, Black settlements or enclaves in Jefferson County that had been established in Virginia before the war, provided the foundation for Black survival in the Area during Reconstruction.[428]

JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA

Both southerners and northerners had settled in Jefferson County, West Virginia, reflecting a wide range of political, social and religious attitudes, practices and alignments. The requirements for statehood recognition that had been established by President Lincoln, compelled state legislators to resolve the dilemma of granting citizenship to the state's Black residents as well as to its Confederates loyal-

[428] LaRoche, Cheryl J., *Free Black Communities and the Underground Railroad: The Geography of Resistance*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 2014; Spencer, "African American Population Statistics."

ists. Because West Virginians were closely allied with their counterparts in other regions of the slaveholding south immediately following the Civil War, the state's Black residents faced daunting challenges in their quest to attain the full rights of freedom.

While both shares of the population eventually realized the rights of citizenship, the withdrawal of a substantial number of southern West Virginia's Black residents suggests that the political gains acquired were not sufficient to hold back out-migration during the state's formative years, from 1863 to 1870.[429] Blacks in Jefferson County comprised a little more than thirty percent of the population in 1860 although the out-migration climbed to twenty-two percent between 1860 and 1870. Between 1870 and 1880, however, the Black population of West Virginia grew forty-four percent with continuing increase through the 1890s. Access to political power also increased as African Americans participated more fully in the political process.[430]

BLACK COMMUNITIES IN JEFFERSON COUNTY

Generally, many of the residents of Jefferson County, West Virginia had lived in the same neighborhoods as their parents and grandparents from generations before. Eventually, the county at the tip of the Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia became a magnet for the new freedmen seeking to obtain work and sustenance. Enclaves with names such as "Dog Town," "Angel Hill," and "Big End," dotted the county along with the better documented communities.[431] In addition to a Black settlement in the county seat at Charles Town along Harewood Avenue, African Americans lived in the following enclaves or communities (See Table 2):

[429] Cicero Fain, Early Black Migration and the Post-emancipation Black Community in Cabell County, West Virginia, 1865-1871, West Virginia History, New Series, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall 2011), 29-58, accessed September 15, 2019, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43264896.

[430] Sharon D Kennedy-Nolle, "AFRICAN AMERICAN LITERARY ACTIVISM IN A DIVIDED DISTRICT: Storer College and the Pioneer Press of West Virginia." In Writing Reconstruction: Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the Postwar South, 123-77. University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Accessed July 12, 2020, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9781469621081_kennedy-nolle.7.

[431] Black History Preservation Society, Inc., African Americans of Jefferson County.

African American Enclaves or Communities in Jefferson County, West Virginia

NAME OF COMMUNITY
Barryville
Bolivar
Franklintown
Gibsontown
Halltown
Harpers Ferry
Jamestown
Johnsontown
Kearneysville
Middleway
Millwood
Mechanicstown
Myerstown
Rippon
Shepherdstown
Skeetersville
Summit Point

Table 2. African American enclaves or communities located in Jefferson County, West Virginia. Source: Black History Preservation Society, Inc., *African Americans of Jefferson County*

The small Black community of Johnsontown on Hite Road is commonly thought to be one of the first, if not the first free Black community in West Virginia. The Johnson family settled in Jefferson county in 1732. Founded by namesakes George W. and Betsy Johnson in 1848 on twelve acres of land, the community is five miles northwest of Charles Town off Brownshop-Bardane Road, tucked between Leetown and Ranson in the Leetown-Bardane area. According to the founders' great-granddaughter, Viola G. Johnson, George and Betsy founded the small community in order to ensure their children and their families "could have a place to live and prosper."[432]

The Johnsons and other families built their homes, as well as a log, one-room school that also served as a meeting place and made religious activities possible until Zion Baptist Church was erected in Charles Town in 1898.[433] Reverend Jerry Myers Johnson I, son of the founders, graduated from Storer Normal School and became the first minister of Johnsontown's Mount Zion Free Will Baptist Church. Education was always at the forefront among the pressing concerns of the new citizens. Professors from Storer College visited Johnsontown to teach farming

[432] Oniadmin, "Johnsontown to celebrate 165 years of rich history," *The Journal*, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.journal-news.net/news/local-news/johnsontown-to-celebrate-165-years-of-rich-history/article_f8106537-168d-5538-9862-506ce918cfbe.html.

[433] Johnsontown Historical Marker.

workshops. The community also established a cemetery and the burials in the Johnstown cemetery represent the former Johnsontown families.[434]

Halltown, situated along Flowing Springs Run off U.S. Route 340 on West Virginia Route 230, between Charles Town and Bolivar, was established on land originally owned by William Hall. Thomas Edwards purchased the land prior to 1870. Edwards used his own time and money to build a small schoolhouse with the help of local Black males. Hall was primarily interested in providing an education for his large family.[435] The small community claimed perhaps one hundred residents at its peak. Most likely, the chief occupation was provided by the Virginia Paper Mills which had been established in 1869 in a former old flour mill. Generations of African Americans found employment at The Halltown Paperboard Company, which was West Virginia's oldest continuous industry.[436]

The small African American community of Gibsontown could be reached by traveling along Gibsontown Road, a few miles south of Charles Town on Rt. 340 South. Evidence of the once thriving community can be discerned through the primary remnant of this community, Fairview Cemetery, established in 1888. The cemetery, originally known as "Ventosa," functioned as the main burying ground for the African American community in Charles Town through the 1970s and continues in use today. In addition to formerly enslaved workers, Black Civil War and Spanish American War veterans are buried in the cemetery, the entrance to which is located on Gibsontown Road, just beyond the Page Jackson Elementary School.[437]

By contrast, few traces of the Black community of Jamestown remain along Jamestown road. One indicator of its former presence is the Jamestown Cemetery, associated with the approximately 120 years old Prosperity Baptist Church. The cemetery is known today as Prosperity Cemetery. Originally, the church was located a few miles away in Summit Point prior to being dismantled and hauled by wagons to its current location on Jamestown Road.[438]

---

434 Oniadmin, "Johnsontown," https://www.journal-news.net/news/local-news/johnsontown-to-celebrate-165-years-of-rich-history/article_f8106537-168d-5538-9862-506ce918cfbe.html; Landmark Nomination Report, Jefferson County Historic Landmarks Commission, Mount Zion Freewill Baptist Church/Johnstown Church, accessed July 28, 2020, http://jeffersoncountyhlc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Johnsontown_JCHLC_County_Nomination.pdf.

435 Halltown Colored Free School, Halltown African American Schoolhouse, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, accessed March 6, 2021, http://www.wvculture.org/shpo/nr/pdf/jefferson/04000912.pdf.

436 Megan Bailey, Ethnographic Overview And Assessment, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, National Park Service, accessed July 28, 2020, http://npshistory.com/publications/hafe/eoa.pdf.

437 "African Americans in Jefferson County," Brochure, accessed July 28, 2020, http://www.jcblackhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JCBHT_2013_WebVersion.pdf.

438 Ibid.

BLACK COMMUNITIES IN CHARLES TOWN

The Black presence in Charles Town dates to before the Civil War. African Americans owned property, organized churches, schools and fraternal organizations. Between 1829 and 1830, James Webb built a portion of a stone house that represents one of the earliest structures built by an African American in the town. After the War, John Blessing acquired the property and connected a second structure to the first. The two buildings are known as the Webb-Blessing house on North Street. Blessing and his family made the clapboard house their home. John Blessing, known as a baker and confectioner, cooked meals for John Brown while Brown was held in the County jail before his execution. As an expression of his gratitude for Blessing's kindness, Brown gave his much-used pocket-sized Bible to the baker.[439]

BLACK COMMUNITIES IN HARPERS FERRY

Well-established industrial opportunities for free African Americans helped make Harpers Ferry an early Reconstruction era terminus for African Americans seeking the refuge of the Freedmen's Bureau protection as well as employment. In 1865 the Shenandoah Valley became home to approximately 30,000 newly freed men and women, the majority of whom were congregated in Harpers Ferry due in part to the protection they thought they would receive from the Union forces stationed there.[440]

Between 1860 and 1920, the most common forms of employment for Black men included farm laborer, day laborer, and worker in the limekiln or stone quarry, probably as kiln tenders. The most common work available for Black women generally was housekeeper, domestic servant, or laundress. African Americans also held positions such as teachers, preachers, seamstresses, and railroad workers. Labor as waiters or chambermaids in hotels or boardinghouses, and as cooks in restaurants, hotels, or with private families was more readily found. As the African American experience stabilized after slavery, Blacks gained greater autonomy and economic security, and the numbers of Black farmers and entrepreneurs in Harpers Ferry grew.[441]

Since John Brown's preemptive strike against slavery in 1859, Harpers Ferry had become holy ground in the collective memory of many African Americans. For

439 Webb-Blessing House Restoration Project, accessed March 6, 2021, http://www.jcblackhistory.org/the-webb-blessing-house-restoration-project.

440 Liz McCormick, "Storer College Celebrates 150-Year Legacy," WV Public Broadcasting, November 15, 2017, accessed July 1, 2021, https://www.wvpublic.org/news/2017-11-15/storer-college-celebrates-150-year-legacy.

441 Megan Bailey, "An Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Study of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park," National Park Service, December 2017, accessed July 16, 2020, http://npshistory.com/publications/hafe/eoa.pdf.

decades following emancipation, the town held a particular attraction. Small and large groups boarded the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, venturing to the war-scarred town to hike mountain trails and stroll along the shores of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers as well as to show respect to the men who, as Langston Hughes would later pen, "went to shoot [their] way to freedom."[442]

Camp Hill, Storer College

The Peoples Advocate stated that Harpers Ferry was named "Summer Resort" beginning in 1877, "not because it was so advertised," but because vacationers were in search of some spot with beautiful surroundings that would be conducive to both health and happiness. By 1892, most Black homeowners in Harpers Ferry lived within one mile of Storer College. The Lovett family, who were said to have moved to Harpers Ferry to provide their children with the opportunity to attend the Freewill Baptist school associated with Storer College, operated two of the hotels at Harpers Ferry: a summer boarding business at Lockwood House that began in 1875 and the Hilltop House on Ridge Street. From 1880 thru 1900, four of the five hotels in Harpers Ferry were owned and operated by African Americans, including the Lockwood House, and the Hilltop House, which sat atop a mountain overlooking the Potomac River.[443] For many city dwellers, such weekend excursions offered an ideal respite from stifling summertime heat and humidity, affording them the opportunity to travel to historically meaningful sites in a country that had only recently recognized their citizenship.[444]

Of the spots prominently featured along the Baltimore & Ohio's westward itinerary, Storer's student dormitories were among the few spaces African Americans of means could enjoy an extended stay. Vacationers and excursionists appreciated the scenery, relaxed in the company of their family and companions, and celebrated the end of another workweek. Historian Andrew Kahrl puts their choices in context, " . . .though their leisurely activities might at first glance seem unremarkable, their choice of location, the meaning they invested in such pursuits, and their critique of each other, reveal a heretofore unexplored dimension of the broader contest over the memory of John Brown and the reality of Jim Crow."[445] Leisure and recreation were part of the larger debate Blacks were having over history and memory, and racial uplift as it related to their engagement with the public sphere at Harpers Ferry. They actively turned to the past to shape the present as

442 Andrew W. Kahrl, The Political Work of Leisure: Class, Recreation, and African American Commemoration at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, Oxford University Press, 1881-1931, Journal of Social History, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Fall, 2008), 57.

443 Black History, Historical Jefferson County, WV, https://sites.google.com/site/jcwvhistory/home/black-history; Bailey, "An Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Study of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park."

444 Patsy Mose Fletcher, *Historically African American Leisure Destinations Around Washington, D.C.* (Charleston: The History Press, 2015), 37.

445 Kahrl, *The Political Work of Leisure*, 57.

African Americans emerged from the oppressions of slavery and began to enjoy the benefits of citizenship.[446] They invested a range of reactions and emotions in Harpers Ferry that highlighted subtle challenges to white historical narratives. African Americans recrafted the narrative of commemoration on plaques, through parades, the retelling of oral histories and at other civic events and ceremonies, as historians such as Kathleen Ann Clark and W. Fizhugh Brundage have recently shown.[447]

The common narrative about African Americans during Reconstruction is neither wholly accurate nor fully realized as there were other ways African Americans capitalized on their freedom. Claiming their own spaces of rest, relaxation, and amusements took on a deeper meaning. Understated and underlying dual meaning, pervasive and necessary in African American cultural responses, spoke to the more strategic and thoughtful approaches Blacks were taking as they expanded their responses to their newly won citizenship that changed over time from well-devised escapes from slavery to the quickly established communities that arose immediately after the emancipation.[448]

Harpers Ferry and the accommodations at Storer College appear to have been quite popular among the notables of the District of Columbia. Mary Church Terrell, famous club woman, educator and civil rights activist, stated that as a young mother, "For several summers we went to Harpers Ferry, the scene of John Brown's raid and execution. We had quarters in Storer College, a splendid school for colored youth, whose lawn was an ideal playground for children."[449] Terrell described her favorite activities as walking and climbing the nearby mountain.

---

446 In his essay on W.E. B. Du Bois's challenge to the "master narrative" of American history, David Blight defines historical memory as "the study of cultural struggle, of contested truths, of moments, events, or even texts in history that thresh out rival versions of the past which are in turn put to the service of the present." See David Blight, "W.E.B. DuBois and the Struggle for American Historical Memory." In *History and Memory in African American Culture*, ed. Genevieve Fabre and Robert G. O'Meally (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 45-71, esp. 46.

447 W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); Kathleen Ann Clark, *Defining Moments: African American Commemoration and Political Culture in the South, 1863-1913* (Chapel Hill, 2005).

448 Sharon D Kennedy-Nolle, "AFRICAN AMERICAN LITERARY ACTIVISM IN A DIVIDED DISTRICT: Storer College and the Pioneer Press of West Virginia." In Writing Reconstruction: Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the Postwar South, 123-77. University of North Carolina Press, 2015, accessed July 12, 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9781469621081_kennedy-nolle.7; Applying James C. Scott's theory of infrapolitics to the Jim Crow South, Robin D.G. Kelley called attention to the myriad mechanisms of resistance Blacks deployed in their social interactions with whites, in particular their use of public space to challenge codes of deference and forms of cultural repression. See Robin D. G. Kelley, "'We Are Not What We Seem': Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South," *Journal of American History*, 80 (June 1993): 75-112. See also James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, 1990); Kahrl, The Political Work of Leisure, 58.

449 Terrell, Mary Church. A Colored Woman in a White World. National Association of Colored Women's Club Inc, DC: 1968, 239.

From her description of one particularly harrowing journey to the top in which she had led a party of several girls, it is clear that Harpers Ferry was a place where several families of color vacationed in the summer.[450] She was later invited to present a lecture at Storer in July 1896. The topic, "The Bright Side of a Dark Subject" was part of the National League of Color Women convention of which she was president. There is a question whether she had been instrumental in getting the gathering to convene there and whether that decision had been based on her own pleasant memories of Harpers Ferry.. Terrell would go on to the co-found the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) at the convention and serve as its first president. The new organization emerged through the union of the National League of Colored Women and the National Federation of Afro-American Women.[451]

Beginning around 1877, summer accommodations at Lincoln Hall had developed a reputation among Black elites for its excellent hospitality. The twenty or so summer roomers rose to over forty in 1878. Thereafter Myrtle Hall opened under the management of Mr. Arter and Mr. Wilson. Advertisements in local Black newspapers ran all summer. The People's Advocate described Myrtle Hall as a large three-story brick building "overlooking the country from miles around." The first summer Myrtle Hall opened as a resort saw over eighty boarders including several from New York. Myrtle Hall on Camp Hill was later described as a large facility of massive masonry at an elevation of 1200 feet above "tide level" surrounded by mountain scenery. Its thirty-six windows guaranteed scenic views. Recreational activities included croquet, bathing, fishing and boating; places of historic interest were within one and a half miles of the resort. The fee was $4.50 or $109.75 in today's currency.[452] Sunset Cottage also offered lodging to African Americans and was advertised in the Colored American as was Sparrow's Inn, however, little information was found on these facilities.

Although Du Bois observed that "Harper's Ferry is one of the excursion places which many colored people make their Mecca in the summer months," this place of respite was coming to an end. The trustees at Storer decided that the summer resort was not profitable, and the Lincoln and Myrtle dormitories closed to Black boarders in 1896. Harpers Ferry ceased to be a welcoming place as long simmer-

450 Ibid, 240-241.

451 Patsy Mose Fletcher, *Historically African American Leisure Destinations Around Washington, D.C.* (Charleston: The History Press, 2015), 40; Kayomi Wada, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (1896), December 29, 2008, accessed March 6, 2021, https://www.blackpast.org/African American-history/national-association-colored-women-s-clubs-inc-1896/.

452 Ibid; Per ad from *The Peoples Advocate*. May 21, 1881. Historical Currency Conversions, accessed June 23, 2017, http://futureboy.homeip.net/fsp/dollar.fsp?quantity=4.50&currency=dollars&fromYear=1881.

ing white hostilities came to the surface. Black organizations, however, continued to hold meetings and conferences on Storer's campus.[453]

MARYLAND

The experience of enslavement and emergence from slavery varied widely across the Maryland counties in the NCA. Ambiguity dominated Maryland's attitudes toward slavery and freedom. As the northernmost slaveholding state, Maryland has always been a confusing mixture—with the largest free Black population in the nation residing alongside the state's enslaved population. Although Maryland had not seceded from the Union, it also remained a slave state throughout the Civil War, grudgingly granting emancipation a few months before the United States Senate set general emancipation into motion. Federal Reconstruction largely was not applicable to Maryland, but state-wide reconstruction provided African Americans greater autonomy over political rights, education and institutions, as well as their families. By 1850, more free Blacks lived in the state of Maryland than in any other state; by 1860, free and enslaved African Americans represented one quarter of the state's population.

Between 1864 to 1867, that population was affected by a reformulation of oppressive practices and by anti-slavery laws. For example, if it could be proven that African American parents were unfit to care for their children, the state could force the separation of children from their families to serve as apprentices. In their new-found freedom and with the help of the Freedmen's Bureau, freedmen and women vigorously pushed back against the unscrupulous practices just as they were also forced to rely on apprenticeships to stave off economic hardship. Unemployment was a new and harsh reality for anyone who had spent a lifetime under slavery. As Barbara Jeanne Fields points out, "Insecurity of employment became a baleful companion in the lives of working people in Maryland and stayed with them through the last three decades of the nineteenth century."[454]

With the dawn of the twentieth century, informal practices became codified as Maryland followed the widespread legal practice of segregation. Although the full extent of Maryland's participation in Jim Crow America is difficult to document, Maryland counties in the NCA followed the practice. Silver Spring and Washington Grove in Montgomery County, for example, established themselves during the early twentieth century as sundown towns.[455]

453 Fletcher, *Historically African American Leisure Destinations*, 42.

454 Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1985, 188.

455 David S. Rotenstein, "Protesting Invisibility in Silver Spring, Maryland," The Activist History Review, accessed June 23, 2017, https://activisthistory.com/2017/06/23/protesting-invisibility-in-silver-spring-maryland/.

Silver Spring, a mere six miles north of Washington, D.C. and more than ten square miles in area, was strictly segregated, and strongly resisted integration well into the 1960s. The area resorted to racially restrictive deed covenants to bar African Americans from owning or renting homes. Segregated businesses remained legal until 1950 and housing discrimination remained legal until 1968. Much the same can be said of Montgomery County.[456]

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

A substantial Black population has always claimed Montgomery County as home. In the years between 1790 and 1850, the enslaved population far outnumbered the free Blacks who lived in the County. Over the decades, the enslaved population slowly decreased from 6,030 in 1790 to 5,114 in 1850. Although the free Black population of 294 had expanded to 1,311 by 1850, its numbers remained four times lower when compared to the enslaved workers.[457]

Skilled artisans were necessary to the building process in rural areas of the county. Apprenticeships, formal or informal made the building trades accessible for enslaved and later free craftsmen. Specialization was rare, and individuals had no choice rather than master a wide range of skills and services. Over the span of their labors, enslaved artisans would work on many building projects, at home or as hired out by slaveholders. Most enslaved workers lived in loft spaces in the main house or an outbuilding, supplemented by single-unit quarters located in the farmyard.[458]

After the Civil War but before 1900, at least one in every three residents in the county was African American. By 1865 in Montgomery County, there were at least four communities of free Blacks: Big Woods near Dickerson, Mt. Ephraim near Sugarloaf Mountain, Sandy Spring, and Haiti in Rockville. Throughout most of the Reconstruction years, the county was primarily rural. Many African Americans lived in disbursed family-based communities, where they worshipped, found work and attended segregated schools.[459]

After Emancipation in Maryland on November 1, 1864, many freedmen needed housing. Although as a group they had few resources and could only claim small plots of less desirable land, the first generation of freedmen and women after Emancipation did establish their own homesteads. They laid the foundation for homes, institutions and kinship communities. With more control over their future

456 Ibid.
457 Fields, Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground, 13.
458 Eileen McGuckian, BLACK BUILDERS IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY 1865-1940, *The Montgomery County Story*, Published Quarterly by The Montgomery County Historical Society, 190-191, accessed March 18, 2021, https://montgomeryhistory.org/pdf/35-1.pdf.
459 Ibid.

and their property, the freedmen finally had an opportunity to work for their own benefit and help one another with whatever tools and materials they had acquired.

Montgomery County's Black population climbed from 6,973 in 1860, to 7,432 in 1870, representing about 800 to 1000 houses for Black families. Free Blacks inhabited some structures while other freed families continued to live in former slave quarters. When possible, the freedmen looked to skilled builders and carpenters. These craftsmen worked with family, friends and clients meet the need and demand and put up simple log and frame dwellings, churches, and a few schools.

As local historian Eileen McGuckian notes, "These first-generation dwellings have become increasingly rare in Montgomery County, as they have been lost to fire, replacement homes, or other forms of "progress." The county had retained "a few multigenerational dwellings, constructed by and for Montgomery County Black families." Two can be found in established Black communities: Haiti in Rockville which dates to the 1830s, and Lincoln Park, a planned Black neighborhood subdivided by a white storeowner in 1890.[460]

The Alfred Ross house on Martin's Lane in Haiti in Rockville was constructed around 1860 by Jane Beall, widow of Upton Beall, second Clerk of the Circuit Court. Alfred Ross was listed as an enslaved worker in the 1851 inventory of the estate. Ross may have received his freedom in early 1864, months before Maryland's general emancipation. The 1870 census lists him as a thirty-five-year-old Maryland born carpenter. Despite the fact that he was unable to read or write, Ross owned $100 worth of personal property. His wife Jane kept house and most of their children were able to attend school.[461] According to McGuckian, Alfred Ross purchased "the use and occupation of the house and lot now occupied by him" from Margaret J. Beall, daughter of Upton Beall, for $5.00. The 1871 deed specified that "the said Margaret J. Beall during her life shall supervise and control the management of said house and lot." Margaret Beall passed the land to Jane Ross and her children after Alfred's death in 1893 and the clause was removed.

Five generations of free African Americans in this family continued to live in Haiti in Rockville.[462] The Ross family exerted a major influence on the cultural and physical appearance of the town. The one-room, 17 by 16 feet log and timber framed dwelling which enslaved carpenter Alfred Ross constructed for his family had a loft, "a shallow fieldstone foundation surmounted by huge log sills, exterior

460 Ibid., 190-191.
461 Ibid.
462 The Ross Powell House, 22 Martin's Lane, Maryland Historical Trust Maryland Inventory of Inventory Historic Properties Form No. M:26/16/1, accessed March 18, 2021, https://www.rockvillemd.gov/DocumentCenter/View/997/22MartinsLa-MHT?bidId=.

weatherboards, central chimney, and a gable roof." It is likely that he hand-worked his locally obtained building materials. In addition to the home, the carpenter crafted the furniture for his home—"a modest bedstead, table and chairs, maybe a dresser, and pegs or nails on a wall for hanging clothing not being worn."[463]

Carpenter Reuben Hill, a contemporary of Alfred Ross, described as a 40-year-old mulatto farm laborer on the 1870 census, once had been enslaved until his mid-30s by the Stonestreet family of Rockville. Hill married Rachel, a free mixed-race woman. In 1880 they were able to buy from Simeon Berry approximately one acre of land adjoining what would become "Lincoln Park." Berry, "an illiterate white former Confederate soldier and fence builder, willed his dwelling house, horse and wagon, post machine, tools and house furniture to Reuben Hill that same year." Both Hill and Berry were skilled artisan who may have collaborated in erecting Berry's home. The originally house may have been a one-story structure with a loft but soon was enlarged to the I-house, a structure common to the late 19th century. Hill also built or helped to build a brick home that stood across the street from his home in 1897. Adding to his carpentry work, Reuben Hill worked for several years at the Kleindienst Hotel in Rockville. In the religious and spiritual sphere, he served as sexton of Jerusalem Church, and often officiated at weddings and funerals.[464]

In George McDaniel's 1979 study of northwestern Montgomery County, he found in ruins, "near-contemporaries of the Ross and Hill houses" in Mt. Ephraim, Big Woods, and Jerusalem (Poolesville). Martinsburg in Rockville developed among more than thirty Black rural enclaves that became well established in Montgomery County before 1900. There are no extant remains of the Albert Thompson's log house that helped form the Martinsburg Black community.[465]

As early as 1825 Samuel Martin, a free Black man, owned one of the original lots of Rockville. By 1831 he had accumulated another five acres just beyond the northern limits of town. The land served as a central gathering place around which an African American enclave developed. Free Black farm laborers and house servants built their homes around "Martin's Lane." Once freed, those once enslaved from the Beall-Dawson house did the same. These houses, also located in the Haiti area, date from the mid-19th century and "represent the tenant houses

463 Eileen McGuckian, "BLACK BUILDERS IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY 1865-1940", Montgomery County Stories, Vol. 35, No. 1, February 1992, accessed March 18, 2021, http://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Vol35No1_MCStory.pdf, 189-191.

464 Eileen McGuckian, "BLACK BUILDERS IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY 1865-1940," Montgomery County Stories, Vol. 35, No. 1, February 1992, accessed March 18, 2021, http://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Vol35No1_MCStory.pdf.

465 The Ross/Powell House 22 Martin's Lane, Maryland, https://www.rockvillemd.gov/DocumentCenter/View/997/22MartinsLa-MHT?bidId=p. 192.

that evolved through 100 years of ownership by descendants of the freedmen's families."[466]

Carpenters and builders identified in some Montgomery County Black communities.

NAME	PROFESSION	LOCATION
Henry Hackett and Arthur Gibson	Not listed	Clarksburg
Elmer Jones	Carpenter, stone mason, and bricklayer	Jonesville
Remus Q. Hill	Not listed	Sandy Spring
George Lee Bowen	Not listed	Spencerville
Teat Clagett	Plasterer	Barnesville
Henry Boston	Carpenter	Good Hope
Singleton Bellows	Minister, carpenter, and fence maker	Sandy Spring
Bene Hallman	Jack of all trades, working as a stonecutter at Dickerson quarry, as a farm laborer, broommaker, and traditional house-wright.[467]	Mount Ephraim

Table 3. **Carpenters and builders identified in some Montgomery County Black communities.**

S. Leonard Gray and James Boswell were two Black builders who entered into a partnership that left its mark on Rockville. Gray, originally from Aldie, Virginia, married Sarah Johnson, from Rockville. After Sarah's sisters acquired lots in Haiti on Martin's Lane they contracted Gray as their builder. The partners were already building three other houses in the area in Haiti, Lincoln Park, and one on Washington Street in Rockville. Gray also built another house for the family at Martin's Lane and McGuckian believes another may been built by Gray or his nephew, Raymond Leroy Baker, or both.[468]

Jonesville near Poolesville got its start when Richard Jones and his brother Erasmus built a log home Montgomery County in the mid-1870s on the land they bought for $135. "Their home was in some ways a reflection or embodiment of that new feeling of freedom and the limitation that came with being second-class citizens in a reconstructing America," reported Paul Gardullo, a curator at the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture. The house was the first home in what became the free Black community of Jonesville, which took its name from the brothers. Across time, other family members

466 The Ross Powell House, 22 Martin's Lane, Maryland Historical Trust Maryland Inventory of Inventory Historic Properties Form No. M:26/16/1, accessed March 18, 2021, https://www.rockvillemd.gov/DocumentCenter/View/997/22MartinsLa-MHT?bidId=.

467 Ibid., 194.

468 Ibid., 194.

began settling in Jonesville, where they built houses of their own. Nearly all of the original Jonesville houses have been erased from the landscape by demolition, destruction or relocation. The Jones House, one of the few surviving examples of a Reconstruction-era home, was built by the new freedmen in the country. The house has been dismantled, reconstructed and is now relocated for display in the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture.[469]

As many as fifty Black communities were formed in Montgomery County. Emory Grove, on the Gaithersburg-Laytonsville Road (now Route 124) northeast of Gaithersburg, was one such community.[470] The 123-acre community began with families from nearby farms in Redland and Goshen purchasing small parcels of land from the farms of the Woodwards, the Bowmans, the Saffells, and the Dorseys.[471] Some of this land was sold because it was unsuitable for farming.

Landownership was always foremost on the minds of the freed men and women, and they exploited opportunities whenever present. Among the pioneer citizens of Emory Grove who purchased land in the 1870s were Franklin Duvall, Joseph Duvall, Robert and John Taylor, William Chambers, William Mockabee, Robert Tyler, William Robertson, George Praither, and Martha Luckett. Most owned less than two acres for which they paid about $60 per acre. Perhaps the earliest resident was Abraham Lancaster whose name appears as a landowner on the 1865 *Martenet and Bond* map although land ownership has not been verified in the county land records.[472]

Other African American residents identified in Montgomery County the United States Census of 1880

NAMES
John W. Dorsey
Elijah Lancaster
Richard Frazier
John Mockabee
William Frazier
George Frazier
John Morsell

469 Andrew Metcalf, First Jonesville Home to Be Featured at Smithsonian's African American Museum, *Bethesda Magazine*, accessed September 16, 2019, https://bethesdamagazine.com/bethesda-beat/news/first-jonesville-home-to-be-featured-at-smithsonians-African American-museum/.

470 Montgomery County Story, Montgomery County Historical Society, Volume 31, February 1988, 2.

471 Montgomery County Land Records, Book EBP 4, 385; Book EBP 10, 274; EBP 11, 51 and 420; EBP 12, 72-73; EBP 15, 454-455; EBP 21, 35 and 140; and EBP 23, 141.

472 Ibid.; Simon J, Martenet, Martenet & Bond, and Schmidt & Trowe. Martenet and Bond's map of Montgomery County, Maryland. [Baltimore: Simon J. Martenet, 1865] Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, accessed July 1, 2021, www.loc.gov/item/2002620533/.

NAMES
Charles Wilson
Lloyd Duvall
Alexander Taylor
Henrietta Johnson
John Thompson
Noah Sedgewick
John W. Ennis

Table 4. Other African American residents identified in Montgomery County the United States Census of 1880

WESTBARD

The rural area known today as Westbard on River Road in Bethesda is home to a century-old community founded by freedmen and women. The land was once owned by white plantation farmers. However, by the start of Reconstruction, land ownership began to change hands as was common across the region. Several freedmen, perhaps close neighbors started acquiring land and appeared in the census for subsequent decades. These landowners built a community that lasted about a century. Freed Blacks began buying land and building homes such as the Pascal Botts cabin, around 1895.[473]

The land between River Road and Peter Posey's estate to the west was the site of a six-acre parcel known as "Friendship," purchased in late in 1869 by Francis (Frank) Gray and John Hall. Six additional African American families, some related to one another, had purchased nearby land by 1873. Between 1870 and 1873, Jane Rivers, Henry and Mary Jackson, and Nelson and William Warren acquired additional two-or-three-acre lots south of the land purchased by Frank Gray and John Hall. In 1872, Nelson Wood and in 1873 John and Mary Burley purchased two-acre lots from landowner and former slave holder John Counselman. Local historians report that: "After the Civil War, families and friends purchased marginal land and established a working community built on the pillars of faith, education, and mutual support held."[474]

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

The highest ratio of enslaved persons in the state of Maryland could be found in Prince George's County. Prince Georgians enslaved nearly 11,000 African Ameri-

[473] Chris Simkins and Jemima Homawoo, "Controversy Over Former Black Cemetery Uncovers History of Forgotten Community," May 5, 2017, Voice of America News, accessed July 30, 2020, https://www.voanews.com/a/controversy-former-black-cemetery-uncover-forgotten-community/3838990.html.

[474] David Kathan, Amy Rispin and L. Paige Whitley, Tracing a Bethesda, Maryland, African American Community and Its Contested Cemetery, *Washington History*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Fall 2017), 24-41, 38-39.

cans, larger than the county's white population and greater than any other county in Maryland from 1790 to roughly 1850. By 1860, more than 12,000 African Americans were enslaved in the county, greater than the total combined numbers of white and free Blacks living in its borders.

Before the Civil War, free Blacks in Prince George's County suffered under the threat of incarceration or being forced back into slavery through various fabricated means such as limiting the length of time one could visit the county without state approval. Free Blacks were forced to provide proof of employment. They were obliged to obtain licenses to sell their goods or, failing to comply, would be jailed, or worse, sold into slavery. Free people of color from other areas were only allowed to visit for ten days. Maryland's 1831 Colonization Law ruled that if a person of color left the state for more than thirty days without first telling the state, they were not allowed to return, which "was intended to stop the increase of free [N]egroes in our State and provide for the removal of such as were then free." [475]

One of the most devastating practices was the forced apprenticeship of minors. Before the war, the children of a free Black person who married an enslaved person under slavery were considered to be slaves. Conversely, a child born to free parents, had to either work as soon as possible or be actively learning a trade. If that was not the case, the child would be dispatched to the Orphan's Court in Prince George's County and subsequently put to work or learning a trade. All such rules severely impacted their already tenuous hold on freedom.[476]

With the abolition of slavery next door in Washington, D. C. in 1862, many enslaved Prince Georgians escaped to freedom in the district. Prince George's County had voted against emancipation in Maryland. The aftereffects of slavery lingered in distinctive ways in the state, although the Civil War brought significant changes to the County. With the last of the surrendering Confederate forces in the summer of 1865, many men from Prince George's County returned home to a changing way of life.

A 1796 Maryland law prohibited the freeing of enslaved laborers who could not support themselves and under certain circumstances encouraged skilled Blacks. Although education of Blacks was highly discouraged by convention rather than

475 "Slavery in Maryland," Smithsonian Anacostia Museum, accessed June 25, 2021, https://anacostia.si.edu/exhibits/Plummer/Docs/Teacher_Resources/Middle_School/msslaveryreading.pdf; Session Laws 181, An act to incorporate the Maryland State Colonization Society, Passed March 14, 1832, Vol. 213, 426, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000213/html/am213--426.html and Vol. 665, 448, accessed June 25, 2021, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000665/html/am665--448.html.

476 "Slavery in Maryland," Smithsonian Anacostia Museum.

forbidden by state law, Maryland's laws had not deterred the training of skilled Blacks, enslaved or free. Agricultural-based mercantile practices undergirded by an enslaved labor force of plantation society fueled the prosperity and enormous economic success of Prince George's County. As a result of Maryland's predominately mercantile based economy's move away from agriculture, the state's African American population found that state politicians and white citizens alike denied their participation in the "many protections and political benefits of Reconstruction."[477]

After the war and the abolishment of slavery in Maryland in November of 1863, newly freed men and women could begin to work for themselves. Since Maryland had been a border state and had not seceded from the union, the government had not taken possession of the plantations. The absence of enslaved labor meant that the large farms for which the county was known had become unproductive impacting the tax obligations for former slaveholders. As a result, several former plantations were divided and sold in smaller parcels.[478] Changes in landownership signaled the end of large tobacco plantations by dividing them into smaller landholdings of two-to-ten acres.

Although freed Blacks were left to find other methods of acquiring land from white landowners, land ownership did emerge. Though in a minority, Black landowners were present throughout Maryland and the South in the post-Civil War years of the late nineteenth century. Historian Ira Berlin reports that pockets of free Blacks were "tucked away, well off the main road" living in "isolated cottages and shacks." These pockets would develop into the earliest Black communities in the county: Rossville, Valley Lane and Oxon Hill. The largest number of Blacks resided in the Vansville Election District in the northern portion of the county. The Marlboro Election District which contained the least number of free Blacks also held the largest number of enslaved workers around 1820 and the numbers remained stable at mid-century. By 1850, the largest number of free Blacks resided in the Aquasco Election District.[479]

As Reconstruction took hold, small communities of Blacks began to emerge. Rossville in the northern part of the county near the Muirkirk Furnace developed. Chapel Hill near Fort Washington, and the Black communities near the towns of Woodville (now Aquasco) and Upper Marlborough expanded. Blacks were concentrated in the Election Districts of Vansville, Aquasco, Queen Anne and

477 African American Historic Resources of Prince George's County, Maryland, National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, accessed September 23, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/afam/2006/PGcounty.htm.

478 Ibid.

479 Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*; George W. McDaniel, *Hearth & Home, Preserving a People's Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), 1982.

Piscataway. Black families in Piscataway were reported as owning the largest holdings of real and personal estate among free Blacks. With the end of slavery, many of the newly freed became farmers of their own land, built houses of their own, and reached out to live in communities with white landowners, while still others joined with fellow Blacks to form their own neighborhoods.[480]

George Bowling, Robert Green, Henry Marlow, Henry Hatton and Henry Butler, all of whom had been free before the war, served as prominent community leaders throughout Reconstruction.[481] Although the white population persisted in its refusal to see Blacks as equal to whites, they had no problems with selling portions of their land to Blacks they deemed acceptable, most likely those known to them or those who had once been enslaved by the family.[482]

For African Americans for whom the Civil War brought freedom but not necessarily great opportunity, many returned to their old farms working as sharecroppers or tenant farmers. Freedmen and women with skills soon became their own bosses in various small businesses. With the fortunate location of the Potomac River, many of the newly freed used their acquired skills as watermen. They were able to operate their own boats or work for others to earn a living by using skills acquired under slavery by catching fish and other seafoods such as oysters, clams and crabs.[483] With the end of slavery, the county's economy began to change. Smaller farms growing tobacco and other crops rather than large plantations took hold in the last decades of the nineteenth century, impacting the county's economic life.[484]

Places of worship, usually the Methodist denomination, anchored and centered the communities. Although they were principally farmers, the newly freed people built their homes and supported themselves laboring in the iron furnaces or in railroad construction. With the help of the Freedmen's Bureau in league with Black churches, these communities built schoolhouses and hired teachers. Although there had been multiple strides toward education in other sections of the state for Blacks before the Civil War, in Prince George's County the significant movement toward Black education came with the dawning years of Reconstruction. The continuing climate of racial oppression and the changes in the agricul-

480 Illustrated Inventory of Historic Sites and Districts, Prince George's County, Maryland, The Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Prince George's County Planning Department, April 2011, accessed March 6, 2021, http://mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/PDFs/237/Front%20Matter%20and%20Introduction.pdf.

481 Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, 21; McDaniel, *Hearth & Home*.

482 History of Prince George's County, accessed March 25, 2019, http://chnm.gmu.edu/wvha/historical-overview/African American-history.

483 History of Prince George's County, http://chnm.gmu.edu/wvha/historical-overview/African American-history.

484 Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, 21.

tural nature of the county pushed a considerable number of African Americans to move out of Prince George's County during the first generation of Reconstruction, especially into the District of Columbia. The total African American population dropped by 72% between 1860 and 1870.[485]

ROSSVILLE/MUIRKIRK

Augustus Ross became one of the first landowners along Old Muirkirk Road. Rossville grew from twelve subdivided lots of the estate of Mark Duvall. Many of the new community's workers supported themselves by farming. The 1861 *Martenet* shows the Duvall Estate and Muirkirk Iron Furnace, where many of Rossville's residents worked to support themselves.[486] The small, late-nineteenth century African American rural settlement of Rossville established Queen's Chapel, a Methodist congregation near Beltsville in 1868.[487] The Minnix family sold the land for the church for five dollars. First used as a burial ground for local African Americans, the church was later built on the site.[488] The Chapel, a log structure, also served as a schoolhouse for neighboring children.

By 1878, the *Hopkins* map documents some growth in the area, including new residences and Queen's Chapel. Old Muirkirk Road also appears on the map.[489] Individual members of the congregation as well as other African Americans purchased twelve lots along the north side of Old Muirkirk Road in 1886. By 1889, structures had been erected on eleven of the lots.[490] As was the fate of so many of the early church structures built during Reconstruction, Queen's Chapel's log structure was ravaged by fire and replaced by a wood frame building in the late 1890s.[491]

---

485 Alison Beckwith , "When Enslaved People in Prince George's County Headed to D.C. for Freedom," *The Hyattsville Wire*, February 4, 2021, accessed March 6, 2021, https://www.hyattsvillewire.com/2021/02/04/prince-georges-county-slavery/; Spencer, "African American Population Statistics" [see Appendix A].

486 Simon J. Martenet, "Atlas of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1861, Adapted from Martenet's Map of Prince George's County, Maryland" (Baltimore: Simon J. Martenet C.E., 1861), Library of Congress, accessed June 25, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3843p.la000302/?r=0.277,0.352,0.463,0.229,0.

487 Howard S. Berger, "Rural Villages in Prince George's County, 1815-1930," in *Historic Contexts in Prince George's County: Short Papers on Settlement Patterns, Transportation and Cultural History* (Upper Marlboro, MD: Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1991), 7; Susan G. Pearl, Prince George's County African American Heritage Survey, 1996 (Upper Marlboro, MD: Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1996), 18.

488 William H and Henrietta V. Minnix to Henry Edwards, Thomas Quinn, Thomas Matthews, Ferdenand Key, Knotley Johnson and James Powell, deed, Prince George's County, 1868.

489 G.M. Hopkins, "Atlas of Fifteen Miles Around Washington, Including the County of Prince George Maryland" (Philadelphia: G.M. Hopkins, C.E., 1878).

490 Pearl, African American Heritage Survey, 18.
http://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/CommunityDocumentations/62-023%20Rossville/PG%2062-023%20Rossville%20Community%20Survey.pdf

CHAPEL HILL

Freedmen and women founded the rural African American village of Chapel Hill during the early years of Reconstruction. The village took root in the late nineteenth century at the junction of Old Fort Road and Livingston Road in the Fort Washington area of Prince George's County. The small community is approximately eight miles south of Washington, D.C. Indian Head Highway (Route 210) forms the western boundary of Chapel Hill and Clinton, an unincorporated community is to the east. The area had been part of several plantations on tracts of land known as "Boarman's Content" and "Frankland," that belonged to the Hatton, Edelen, Thorne, and Gallahan families before the Civil War.[492] In the late nineteenth century, life at Chapel Hill centered around a schoolhouse and a Methodist meetinghouse. In 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau helped build a schoolhouse at the intersection of Old Fort Road and Livingston Road.[493]

In the 1880s, several families of free Blacks began to establish farms in the Chapel Hill area. This rural village was a community comprised of a few close-knit families. Jeremiah Brown and his son-in law, Albert Owen Shorter, were able to procure multiple five-acre parcels from the Hatton family in 1887. Brown served as the pastor of the Methodist church and also taught classes at the school. By 1900 other African American families settled in the area and were counted in the Federal Census for that year. The families included the Thomas, Calvert, and Brooks families plus the Coleman, Bowling, and Henson families. The census noted that most worked as farmers or as farm hands, others were laborers and gardeners, and a good portion of the women were noted as working as domestic help. Today, the only above-ground reminders of the chapel are several headstones that still stand at the site.[494]

The Ridgely Family

For over a century, members of the Ridgely family maintained a prominent place among African American citizens and landowners in Prince George's County. The family was instrumental in community and land development on both sides of Central Avenue where it joins Ritchie Road. After being drafted in the Civil War, Lewis Ridgely along with his wife Mary, agreed to purchase fifty-two acres of land in 1871 and to grow tobacco at the northwest corner of what is now Morgan Boulevard and Central Avenue (MD 214). That same year a half-acre of land was

492 Susan G. Pearl, Prince George's County African American Heritage Survey, 1996 (Upper Marlboro, MD: Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1996), 92.

493 Chapel Hill (80-018), accessed September 16, 2019, http://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/CommunityDocumentations/80-018%20Chapel%20Hill/PG%2080-018%20Chapel%20Hill%20Community%20Survey.pdf.

494 1900 United States Federal Census, Maryland, Prince George's County, Piscataway, District 95, sheet 5A-5B; Chapel Hill, http://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/CommunityDocumentations/80-018%20Chapel%20Hill/PG%2080-018%20Chapel%20Hill%20Community%20Survey.pdf

deeded to Ridgley, Joseph Beall and Richard Cook as trustees to be used "as a place of divine worship for the use of the ministry and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The land stood three quarters of a mile east of the Ridgley farm.[495] The community erected what became known as Ridgely Methodist Episcopal Church[496] shortly thereafter and burials were a nearby cemetery. The 1878 *Hopkins* map depicts the church and a property owned or occupied by "L. Ridgely." Ridgley and four other Black trustees purchased an additional acre of land connecting the church lot to the west in 1892 and expanded the graveyard at the western edge of the property. The original church was consumed by fire in 1921 when the current church was built.[497]

Northampton (former Northampton Plantation) in Mitchellville was a location that transitioned from slave quarters to homes for tenant farmers who lived there from the 1700s through the mid-1900s. Northampton is located in the center of Prince George's County, approximately fifteen miles east of Washington, DC.[498] Many of the Black men who enlisted in the United States Army came home to establish or help build neighborhoods. Charles Duckett had once been enslaved in the county and one year into the Civil War, Duckett enlisted in the 19th Regiment of the USCT. The enlistee was soon assigned to the Navy where he served as a landsman. Like so many soldiers fighting in the army, Duckett understood firsthand the deprivations of slavery and took a stand for freedom. In 1866 after his discharge Duckett was able to find work as a farm hand on the Trueman property in Aquasco. Duckett built his cabin around 1880. The Charles Duckett Log Cabin in Upper Marlboro, now Aquasco, is a rare hand-hewn chestnut log tenant farmhouse that dates from the 1880s [499]

Many of the small enclaves, communities and settlements in this study were organized around church and school but were not officially incorporated. According to the National Register of Historic Places, North Brentwood was the earliest incorporated African American community in Prince George's County. Incorporated in 1887, and originally pplanned by Captain Wallace A. Bartlett, a veteran commander of US Colored Troops, the town was settled by African American

[495] Land Records of Prince George's County, Liber HB 4, Folio 223 as cited in The Ridgely Family in Prince George's Family, accessed September 16, 2019., https://www.mncppc.org/DocumentCenter/View/438/The-Ridgley-Family-PDF.

[496] Now known as 8900 Central Avenue.

[497] The Ridgely Family in Prince George's Family, accessed September 16, 2019, https://www.mncppc.org/DocumentCenter/View/438/The-Ridgley-Family-PDF; G. M. Hopkins, Atlas of fifteen miles around Washington, including the County of Prince George, Maryland (Philadelphia, 1878), accessed June 25, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3850m.gla00496/?sp=1&st=gallery.

[498] Kristin Marie Montaperto, Public Archaeology and the Northampton Slave Quarters: Community Collaboration, Ph. D. dissertation, American University, 2012.

[499] African American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland, The Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, accessed March 6, 2021, https://issuu.com/mncppc/docs/aapgc/249.

Civil War veterans. Paralleling other communities in various parts of the country, North Brentwood can trace its founding to USCT veterans coming together to form communities after the war.

Sitting in close proximity to the Northwest Branch of the Anacostia River, the segregated community was prone to flooding. Restrictive deed covenants prevented African Americans from acquiring more desirable property in the drier adjacent community of Brentwood. In the early twentieth century, North Brentwood, and the communities around it, were among the Maryland communities known as "sundown towns," communities where Blacks were arrested by police if caught outside after dark.[500]

The number of farms in Prince George's County doubled between the start of Reconstruction and the turn of the twentieth century. At the same time, the average farm size decreased significantly. Small farmers growing tobacco and many other crops shifted the agricultural landscape of the county, and as a result, played a greater role in its economic life. Many of the free Black owners and operators of these new scaled-down farms were newcomers to the county who contributed to the important growth of the agricultural population and endeavors alongside local commerce. [501]

The growth of small farms and local commerce that fueled the "second life of Prince George's County," soon were dominated by other economic forces and developments that would impact the county as deeply as had tobacco in the influential years before the Civil War. The growth of the federal government in nearby Washington, D.C. and the expansion of the nation's capital and its workforce meant that immigrants, especially of German descent, began to buy land in the county. Industry began to eclipse farming. The powerful central government in Washington City spawned by the Civil War attracted new workers. This dynamic population influx drove the creation of suburban areas in Prince George's County during the Reconstruction decades.[502]

500 John Henry, "Prince George's County: How a community grappled with racism to become a destination for African Americans," WUSA9, March 15, 2019, accessed September 18, 2019, https://www.wusa9.com/article/news/local/maryland/prince-georges-county-how-a-community-grappled-with-racism-to-become-a-destination-for-African Americans/65-3a70f85d-9216-4283-9ac7-668b51398b6f.

501 Alan Virta, "Prince George's County: Over 300 years of History. A County with Rich History: Prince George's County History," accessed March 6, 2021, https://www.pghistory.org/PG/PG300/history.html.

502 Alan Virta, Prince George's County: Over 300 Years of History, Prince George's County Historical Society, accessed September 22, 2019, https://www.pghistory.org/PG/PG300/history.html.

As Washington transformed from a sleepy, swampy small town into a world capital, it began spilling into adjoining counties, sparking the beginning of the residential suburb. All the counties of the NCA would expand in order to keep pace with the escalating numbers of federal employees and city workers coming into the Area. Transportation followed the workers and a new branch line of the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad joining with the main line to Southern Maryland at the Bowie junction opened in 1872. This created a second rail link between Washington and Baltimore. Speculators seized prospects for new residential development. In last two decades of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of residential communities boomed north of Washington alongside both railroad lines. Federal employees could live beyond the city limits in healthful easily accessible settings. In county towns such as Riverdale Park, Hyattsville and Berwyn Heights, Glenn Dale, College Park, and Bowie, sprawling Victorian homes from the period are reminders of this flourishing era of suburban expansion. These changes were reflected in the overall African American population in the County which drastically changed over time. In the nineteenth century, African Americans outnumbered European Americans; in 1860, African Americans were the majority population (59%) but beginning in 1870, the numbers began to drop (46%).[503]

FREDERICK COUNTY

Frederick County, bordered by the Mason-Dixon Line to the north, and Virginia to the south is a border county within a border state. Historically, West All Saints Street was at the center of Frederick's African American community life. Although it was once located on the edge of the community, over time, throughout the mid-to-late nineteenth century the street grew into a thriving center with a grocery, clothing stores and restaurants as well as pubs; barber shops and beauty parlors serviced the community; doctor's offices and churches kept body and soul healthy.[504]

In Frederick County, in 1880, about 2 percent or twenty-one Black landowners accounted for a shrinking percentage of the less than 0.3 percent of the Black population and only 1 percent of Black families. During the latter part of the 19th century, African Americans, some of whom were newly freed, founded a number of communities that dotted the countryside in Frederick County. Although several have vanished, a burial ground sometimes remains to speak of their former existence. Following a familiar pattern, the freedmen quickly built a school and a church whenever possible, particularly African Methodist Episcopal (AME)

503 Kristin Marie Montaperto, Public Archaeology and the Northampton Slave Quarters: Community Collaboration, Ph. D. dissertation, American University, 2012, 44, https://dra.american.edu/islandora/object/thesesdissertations%3A105/datastream/PDF/view

504 "The First African American high school in Frederick," *Frederick News-Post*, September 23, 2019, A5.

and Methodist Episcopal (M.E., now United Methodist) denominations. Church organization that was coordinated, spread and maintained by circuits that were in operation before the Civil War, readied the denomination to be at the forefront of leadership.[505]

Black enclaves in Frederick County, include Bartonsville in the New Market district, three miles southeast of Frederick, on Bartonsville Road. Just before the Civil War, Greensberry Barton purchased a piece of property and constructed a home there, the first permanent structure in this part of the New Market District. Bartonsville takes its name from Barton, who moved from slavery to freedom as the enclave's first permanent resident. Bartonsville's original log structures were once schoolhouses, one for Blacks and one for whites that may contain archaeological resources beneath the standing modern structures.[506]

Several small areas took root in Frederick County including Greenfield, once known as Greenfield Mills, a community on the west bank of the Monocacy River, standing a mile and three-quarters northeast of Licksville and east of Routes 80 and 85. In Della (now Urbana), historic St. Paul AME church, situated on the east bank of the river, continues to serve the spiritual and religious needs of the community. Other communities include, Pleasant View, located on Pleasant View Road, not far from Doubs and Adamstown. The community was founded by Patrick and Henrietta Ambush and included the United Methodist church. The Weedon family members constituted a large part of the Sunnyside community, also called Mountville, located on Mountville Road, near Jefferson. In the past, they were located on the "sunny side" of the mountain. Halltown, located on a remote mountain top between Sunnyside (near Mountville) and Point of Rocks, was abandoned in 1912.[507]

Other African American Communities in Frederick County

NAME OF COMMUNITY
Hope Hill along Fingerboard Road
Point of Rocks

505 Fields, Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground, 177; African American Heritage Sites in the City of Frederick and Frederick County, Maryland, accessed September 19, 2019, http://www.frederickhsc.org/pdf/hsc_aahsbro.pdf.

506 Marie Anne Erickson, Chronicles of Frederick County: The Crossroads of Maryland (Charleston: The History Press, 2012), accessed March 5, 2021, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Frederick_County_Chronicles/dCONCQAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=greensberry+barton+bartonsville&pg=PT146&printsec=frontcover; "Bartonsville residents love their 'homeplace' along road," Frederick News Post, July 20, 1989, accessed March 5, 2021, https://newspaperarchive.com/frederick-news-post-jul-20-1989-p-1/.

507 Eric Slagle, "Home safe home: Blacks found refuge in small villages," *Frederick News-Post*, February 20, 2004, accessed September 19, 2019, https://www.fredericknewspost.com/archives/home-safe-home-blacks-found-refuge-in-small-villages/article_2b5dcb9f-2306-5981-8dfa-dad40660bd2e.html.

NAME OF COMMUNITY
Weverton, Doubs
Petersville
Mount Tabor
Knoxville, Comstock
Flint Hill

Table 5. Additional African American Communities in Frederick County

WASHINGTON COUNTY

Hagerstown, the county seat of Washington County, established itself as an important center of life for African Americans before the Civil War. In 1857, a free Black man, Nathan Williams acquired the Fort Frederick tract and farmed the land for more than a half century. During the Civil War, Williams helped sustain himself and his family by using the farmland to produce food that he supplied to both the Union and the Confederate Armies. His land was later purchased by the state in 1922 to create Fort Frederick Park, the state's first state park.[508]

As was the experience of so many of the counties in the NCA, Blacks in Washington County spent much of the 1860s shaking off wounds of slavery and becoming a whole people, establishing themselves, their schools and businesses. By the 1870s, their focus broadened to education and politics although the church remained a potent factor in achieving goals in these two important arenas.

In 1886, The Colored Farmer's Alliance and Cooperative Union was founded as an alternative organization to the all-white National Farmer' Alliance. Black farms were encouraged as an alternative, self-sustaining way of life that led to independent living. Blacks in Washington County owned almost $56,000 worth of real estate in the following towns in 1870:[509]

African American Real Estate Holdings, Washington County, 1870

TOWN	NO. OF PROPERTY OWNERS	VALUE
Boonsboro	4	$ 2,900
Cavetown	1	$ 680–$1,414
Clear Spring	17	$ 9,300

508 "The Local Scene," Maryland Cracker Barrell, January 1990, 3-4, http://archives.doleman-blackheritagemuseum.org/documents/Fort-Frederick-Research-Files.pdf accessed July 18, 2020; Dr. Emilie Amt, "A Driving Tour of African American History," Visit Hagerstown, accessed July 18, 2020, http://www.visithagerstown.com/blog/36/a-driving-tour-of-African American-history-in-washington-county-md.

509 James T. Haley, "The Great Need of Negro Farmers," *Afro-American Encyclopaedia*; Or, the Thoughts, Doings, and Sayings of the Race, Embracing Lectures, (Nashville: Haley & Florida, 1895); 1870 U S. Federal Census; $55,905 is equivalent to $1,100,163 in 2020 dollars, CPI Inflation Calculator, accessed July 18, 2020, https://www.in2013dollars.com/us/inflation/1870?amount=55905.

Town	No. of Property Owners	Value
Funkstown	4	$ 1,165
Hagerstown	55	$ 30,780
Hancock	3	$ 850
Rohnerville	1	$ 400
Sandy Hook	2	$ 1,200
Sharpsburg	5	$ 930
Tilghmanton	2	$ 1,400
Williamsport	9	$ 4,300
Wilson	5	$ 2,000

Table 6. African American Real Estate Holdings, Washington County, 1870

In the 1880s, beyond the several towns mentioned above, eight other residents sustained themselves and their families through general farming in Beaver Creek and Conococheague.

HAGERSTOWN

Jonathan Street is the historic heart of Hagerstown's African American community and the AME church, part of the denomination's Hagerstown Circuit, functioned as the backbone of the community. A number of the AME minsters either had been born in Hagerstown or died there. In 1882, looking back over the triumph of the church in Hagerstown, church historian, Bishop Alexander Wayman characterized the city thusly: "Hagerstown, Md., is a beautiful town situated in the mountains of Western Maryland. The AME Church was organized in this town soon after the formation of the connection [in 1816] and has continued to be the leading colored Methodist church in the town. Its membership is about one hundred and seventy-five, and its Sunday School good."[510]

One of the leading church ministers at the time came from Hagerstown. In 1859, notable AME minister Thomas W. Henry, founder of Ebenezer AME had once been enslaved in Hagerstown, and was forced to leave the state when his name surfaced among John Brown's papers. When Rev. Henry died in Washington, D.C. in 1877, his body was brought back to Hagerstown where he is buried.[511]

Attitudes toward African Americans was not as virulent in Washington County as in other parts of the NCA. As early as 1867, Jacob Wheaton, always noted as

[510] Alexander W. Wayman, *Cyclopædia of African Methodism* (Baltimore: Methodist Episcopal Book Depository, 1882), accessed July 30, 2020, https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/wayman-cyc/wayman.html.

[511] Thomas W. Henry, *Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry of the A. M. E. Church* (Baltimore: The Author, 1872), accessed March 5, 2021, https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/henry/henry.html.

the first African American to vote in Washington County, came to Hagerstown in 1850. Wheaton was also the county's first African American to sit on petit jury as well as the first court officer in the county from 1890 to 1924. Wheaton pushed for the creation of a high school for Black youth of the county which yielded results as the North Street School. He had been the proprietor of the Lincoln House. The city opened a municipal part in his honor in 1937; he is buried in Rose Hill Cemetery.[512]

In 1870, Hagerstown served as the seat of the Baltimore Annual Conference of the AME church which drew several prominent attendees. Bishop Jabez Pitt Campbell was among the visitors to the conference that year. Before his death, Rev. Thomas W. Henry, reflecting the long and important history of the AME church in Hagerstown, informed the Conference that Rev. Anthony Campbell, Bishop Jabez Campbell's father, was one of the first ministers of color who had charge of the church in Hagerstown.[513] Jabez Campbell Beckett, oldest son of John Wesley and Catherine Stella Beckett and the grandson of AME Bishop Jabez P. Campbell, was born October 14, 1877, at Hagerstown, Md. Beckett was a third generation preacher, steeped in the AME tradition. In addition to his grandfather, both of Beckett's parents were members of the A. M. E. Church. The venerable church historiographer and Bishop, Daniel A. Payne came to Hagerstown to offer prayers of thanksgiving at the wedding of AME preacher and distinguished Hagerstown resident, James H. A. Johnson.[514]

As they moved farther from the blight of slavery, Blacks demonstrated their growing civic pride and political voice. In 1870, the Rev. James H. A. Johnson pulled together a "tremendous procession" in Hagerstown consisting of several organizations from various towns to celebrate the Fifteenth Amendment. He was considered "conspicuous in matters pertaining to the interest of his people." Johnson directed a meeting and then forwarded on the Senate of the United States, a petition for civil rights which was presented by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and "stirred up the whole United States."[515] Johnson, a Prince Hall Mason, fundraised, paraded and generally encouraged and celebrated public displays at Hagerstown events. In September of 1885 the Lyon Post, No. 3, colored of the

512 Jacob Francis Wheaton (1835-1924), Civil Rights and Education Figure, HMdb.org, The Historical Marker Database, accessed July 1, 2021, https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=107266.

513 C.S. Smith, *A History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church: Being a Volume Supplemental to A History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, by Daniel Alexander Payne, D.D., LL.D., Late One of Its Bishops: Chronicling the Principal Events in the Advance of the African Methodist Episcopal Church from 1856 to 1922* (Philadelphia: Book Concern of the AME Church, 1922), 90, Electronic Edition, https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/cssmith/smith.html; "1858-1883 A Twenty Fifth Anniversary," Christian Recorder, June 21, 1883.

514 Richard R. Wright, Jr., Centennial Encyclopaedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Philadelphia: Book Concern of the A. M. E. Church, 1916), accessed March 5, 2021, https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/wright/wright.html.

515 Rev. J.H.A. Johnson, D.D., *The Christian Recorder*, May 12, 1887.

Grand Army of the Republic, one of the original posts that got its start in 1866, processed through the principal streets of Hagerstown in celebration of Emancipation Day.[516]

Washington County was the birthplace of Rev. Daniel G. Hill, the son of Richard and Demius Hill. The son, a typical farmer and member of Hagerstown's Ebenezer A. M. E. Church, embraced religion and joined his parent's church early in life. Showing both the proximity and the close relationship between Washington County, MD and Jefferson County, WV, Hill attended the public school of Hagerstown, and for a season attended Storer College, Harpers Ferry. Lincoln University in Chester County, Pa. received him in 1881. He graduated from the collegiate department in 1886, and from the theological department in 1899. Washington County also maintained an intertwined relationship to Washington, D.C. AME Rev. Samuel M. Johnson was licensed to preach in 1876 and ordained deacon in Hagerstown 1883.[517]

Hagerstown experienced great economic development in the 1870s and 1880s, but these gains did not extend to the African Americans community living and working along Jonathan Street. Low wage, low skill and service jobs were the narrow employment avenues relegated to many of the town's Black residents. Blacks in the county were barbers and draymen. Nathan Shorter found employment as a hotel waiter. The women were domestic servants, washwomen and housekeepers. In addition to farming and landownership, African Americans got around these discriminatory limitations through their own labors as blacksmiths, teamsters and plasterers, lime burners and tanners, a steam mill engineer, hostler, and at least one confectioner.

Barbershops and grocery stores, restaurants and a cab company plus the famous Harmon Hotel opened up and thrived within the footprint of the Black community primarily along Jonathan Street. One of the first pawn shops run by African Americans in Maryland, owned by Wilson Barnum and his son Charles, was opened on North Jonathan Street in Hagerstown. Walter Harmon, one of the most prominent entrepreneurs in Hagerstown at the turn of the twentieth century built and established the Harmon Hotel. The famed wealthy real estate owner maintained nearly forty houses along Jonathan Street in addition to other commercial recreational enterprises.[518] In addition to farming and real estate owner-

516 "Local Affairs," National GAR Records Program - Historical Summary of Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Posts by State, MARYLAND, Prepared by the National Organization, SONS OF UNION VETERANS OF THE CIVIL WAR, accessed July 30, 2020, http://www.suvcw.org/garrecords/garposts/md.pdf.

517 Ibid.

518 Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 1477-1-5698; Waxter Intern, Preservation Maryland, accessed July 21, 2020, https://www.preservationmaryland.org/the-green-book-in-maryland-

ship, by the beginning of the twentieth century, Blacks in Hagerstown prospered through their work in hotels, restaurants and barbershops although factory work and better paying jobs with the railroads were closed to them.

The county adhered tightly to the prevailing Jim Crow laws of the times and tightened segregation's grip on the community after 1892 when it began to change the names of the streets to reflect racial demarcations in the town. Decades after emancipation, perpendicular street names were changed with the crossing of North Potomac Avenue. These changes helped whites judge racial status in absentia solely by address.[519]

Street Name Changes to Streets that Intersect North Potomac Avenue

AFRICAN AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOOD (ORIGINAL STREET NAME)	WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD (NEW STREET NAME)
West North Street	North Avenue
West Bethel Street	Randolph Avenue
West Church Street	East Avenue
South Jonathan Street	Summit Avenue

LOSS OF OWNERSHIP

For a variety of reasons, Reconstruction communities have vanished from the national memory, from the landscape and from historiographies. Practices of erasure developed in Reconstruction have been reshaped, reformed and renamed yet many continue unabated to the present. This disruptor causes something author Mindy Fullilove calls root shock, a "traumatic stress reaction" to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional home-space and support structure.[520] Fullilove, author of Root Shock, explains, "In redeveloped, retrofitted, and renewed spaces, root shock is multigenerational, the product of serial displacement: people are repeatedly and coercively driven from their homes by external forces."[521] Root Shock, dispossession and displacement, results from "stress reaction related to the destruction of one's emotional ecosystem.[522] Migrations as a consequence of the manipulation, violence and injustices of Reconstruction and Jim Crow reshaped

the-harmon-hotel-on-jonathan-street-in-hagerstown/.

519 "Street Name Change," *Daily Mail*, March 11, 1975; Laura Ernde, "City Slow to Change Name of Road," *Hagerstown Herald-Mail*, March 29, 1992, in the collection of Doleman Black Heritage Museum, accessed July 28, 2020, http://archives.dolemanblackheritagemuseum.org/documents/Washington-County-Blacks-Folder-8-Box-1.pdf.

520 Mindy Thompson Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do about It*, 1st ed (New York: One World/Ballantine Books, 2004), 11.

521 Mindy Thompson Fullilove and Rodrick Wallace, "Serial Forced Displacement in American Cities, 1916–2010," *Journal of Urban Health : Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 88, no. 3 (June 2011): 381–89, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-011-9585-2.

522 Mindy Thompson Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do about It*, 1st ed (New York: One World/Ballantine Books, 2004), Back Cover.

America's racial landscape. The viability and vibrancy of these once cherished but forgotten and undocumented Reconstruction communities are rapidly being lost. Or they are being drained away by the fight for survival waged by historic communities in the face of destruction, development or removal.

"For generations, Black families passed down the tales in uneasy whispers: 'They stole our land.' These were family secrets shared after the children fell asleep–old stories locked in fear and shame. Some of those whispered bits of oral history, it turns out, are true."[523] In an 18-month investigation, the Associated Press (AP) authenticated a pattern in which African Americans were systematically cheated out of their land, driven off through intimidation, stared down violence, and financial manipulation and even endured murder.[524] Whenever fire is the cause of loss and displacement, arson must also be considered.

Although bitter land disputes have quite a long history in the United States the plight of Black landowners has been a neglected part of these transgressions. At times, it was government officials who authorized the taking of the land. The earliest seizure occurred before the Civil War while other violations are still in litigation today. Some of the land appropriated from Black families has been turned into a country club in Virginia. In a probe that included interviews with more than 1,000 people and the analysis of tens of thousands of public records the AP determined that 107 land-takings had occurred in thirteen Southern and border states. Regarding only those cases, "406 Black landowners lost more than 24,000 acres of farm and timber land plus eighty-five smaller properties, including stores and city lots." Often small properties such as a forty-acre farm, a general store, or a modest home were taken. The losses, however, devastated struggling families left to cope with and overcome this modern form of oppression. Reporters, rather than legal or official government researchers, exposed "evidence of dozens more incidences that could not be fully verified because of gaps in the public record," in addition to the 107 cases documented by the AP. To add to this mounting saga, "thousands of additional reports of land-takings collected by land activists and educational institutions have not been investigated."[525] Ray Winbush, director of Fisk Univer-

523 Todd Lewan and Dolores Barclay, "When They Steal Your Land, They Steal Your Future," *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 2, 2001, accessed March 6, 2021, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2001-dec-02-mn-10514-story.html.

524 Todd Lewan and Dolores Barclay, Torn from the Land (Part 1 of 3), Associated Press, Sunday, December 2, 2001, http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/45a/393.html; Todd Lewan and Dolores Barclay, "When They Steal Your Land, They Steal Your Future," *Los Angeles Times*, December 2, 2001, accessed June 17, 2020, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2001-dec-02-mn-10514-story.html.

525 "When They Steal Your Land, They Steal Your Future." Todd Lewan and Dolores Barclay, Associated Press. December 02, 2001, *Los Angeles Times*, http://articles.latimes.com/2001/dec/02/news/mn-10514/2.

sity's Institute of Race Relations said the AP's findings "are just the tip of one of the biggest crimes of this country's history."

University of Washington sociologist, Stuart E. Tolnay observed that, "In the decades between Reconstruction and the civil rights struggle, Blacks were powerless to prevent land takings. In an era when Black men were lynched for whistling at white women, few Blacks dared to challenge whites. Those who did could rarely find lawyers to take their cases." Gaps in public records ensure that the true scope of land-takings from Black families will likely never be clearly understood. Disintegrating tax records, pages torn from deed books and crudely altered records attest to the scope of the problem. The AP also found that about "a third of the county courthouses in Southern and border states have burned—some more than once—since the Civil War. Some fires were set deliberately. Even when Southern courthouses remained standing, fear of white authority long kept Blacks away from record rooms."[526]

All of these factors and more affect the state of the pre-Civil War and Reconstruction era-built environment for African American resources. Gentrification also contributes to shifting patterns of African American land ownership and displacement is an important component of most accepted definitions of gentrification.[527] As people with less resources are pushed out of these refurbished spaces, the communities and social networks they so proudly built, disintegrate.

Fires of unknown causes plagued Black communities as well. In Williamsport in Washington County, MD, Thomas Barnum owned eighty acres of farmland. The barn of the "worthy colored man," was totally destroyed by fire. He also lost his wagon shed, corn crib and hog pen along with twenty-five tons of hay, five hundred bushels of wheat and forty bushels of oats. Add to the loss, two hundred barrels of corn and all of his farming implements and harnesses and the magnitude of Barnum's farming enterprise and his partially insured losses come into focus. Similarly, in Hagerstown George Parish lost a lifetime of savings that were burned up in a fire that destroyed his two-story log dwelling and the cash "sewed up in an old sofa in the house. As the newspaper reported, "the fire is believed to have been on incendiary origin"—meaning it was believed to have been arson.[528]

526 Ibid.

527 Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard, "Dealing with Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices" (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, April 2001, http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2001/04/metropolitanpolicy; Jason Hackworth, "Postrecession Gentrification in New York City," Urban Affairs Review 37, no. 6 (July 1, 2002): 815–43, accessed July 5, 2020, https://doi.org/10.1177/107874037006003.

528 "A Barn Burned," The Herald and Torch Light, Hagerstown, MD, November 14, 1889, 3; "Fire in Hagerstown" *The Baltimore Sun*, December 19, 1901, 10.

As was the case in the NCA, lack of survival of many of these Reconstruction communities has multiple causes. Batestown and Hickory Ridge in Prince William County, Virginia near Quantico Marine Corps Base, for example, were among 171 incidents between 1935 and 1942 that the federal government confiscated land in the county for the Base. As regional reporter, Kari Pugh observed: "The long years of forced displacement shattered the lives of former slaves and free Blacks who had lived off the land in two thriving communities for decades."[529]

The African American history of Reconstruction is heavily marked by landownership and community building, migration and resettlement, and forced displacement. At the River Road Moses Cemetery in Rockville in Montgomery County, MD, displacement and gentrification were very much on the minds of community members trying to save the site. Through their plight they have an understanding that, in more than fifty years of sociological and historical studies of displacement, researchers have expanded the understanding and definition dislocation and "root Shock" "from the physical removal of people from spaces to include indirect or social and cultural displacement.[530] With the expanded dates for Reconstruction, the displacements of both the early period during the establishment of contraband camps and of the late 19th century can be understood as the historical trajectory of the period.[531] Negatively transforming the space a community inhabits is a collective loss that causes it to unravel. The upheaval brings with it an inevitable and destabilizing loss of solidarity as well as the necessary stretch toward the resilience of reconnection.

Loss of ownership and the displacement of Black communities have caused both a deep connection with the past and a rupture between the past and the present. The fight over preservation is often a struggle to reconcile these tensions. Certain sites could be used to reconnect the two. The Moses cemetery struggle highlighted the fact that "Scholars of displacement have focused on living people, their material worlds and intangible culture: the arts, religious communities, etc. Investigation of displacement should also include the archaeological resources in gentrifying spaces, especially cemeteries." With the constant conversion of property use to

529 Kari Pugh, "Stolen Land: Life After the Civil War," February 15, 2005, WUSA9.com, accessed July 5, 2020, http://www.wusa9.com/news/news_article.aspx?storyid=37158.

530 David S. Rotenstein, "The Moses Cemetery: Where Serial Displacement Meets History," The Activist History Review, December 1, 2017, accessed June 25, 2021, https://web.archive.org/web/20210304120547/https://activisthistory.com/2017/12/01/the-moses-cemetery-where-serial-displacement-meets-history/.

531 M. Chernoff, "Social Displacement in a Renovating Neighborhood's Commercial District: Atlanta," in Back to the City: Issues in Neighborhood Renovation, ed. Shirley Bradway Laska and Daphne Spain, *Pergamon Policy Studies on Urban Affairs* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980), 204–19; Rodney D. Green et al., "The Indirect Displacement Hypothesis: A Case Study in Washington, D.C.," The Review of Black Political Economy, January 31, 2017, 1–22, https://doi.org/10.1007/s12114-016-9242-9; Richard E. Ocejo, "The Early Gentrifier: Weaving a Nostalgia Narrative on the Lower East Side," City & Community 10, no. 3 (2011): 285–310, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2011.01372.x.

theoretically higher and better uses, "spaces that appear abandoned and neglected are prime targets for redevelopment." Activists observe that a community's graves are often vulnerable as the community's living residents are displaced.

As the Moses Cemetery case exemplifies, people whose families once lived in historic communities that have been destroyed by urban renewal, gentrification, or development, as have many in the NCA, frequently frame their narratives about displacement as theft. "They see their homes, businesses, and churches as stolen by capitalism. Spaces for the dead are among those stolen and erased."[532]

[532] Dr. Marsha Adebayo and Chris Rigaux, "A Legacy of Violence and Land Appropriation Bethesda Moses African Cemetery," *Black Agenda Report*, July 31, 2019, https://www.blackagendareport.com/legacy-violence-and-land-appropriation-bethesda-moses-african-cemetery, accessed June 11, 2020; Briana Adhikusuma, "UPDATED: Peaceful protesters in Bethesda condemn construction on historic African cemetery," *Bethesda Magazine*, June 9, 2020, accessed June 11, 2020, https://bethesdamagazine.com/bethesda-beat/development/peaceful-protesters-in-bethesda-condemn-construction-on-historic-african-cemetery/.

CHAPTER SEVEN: EDUCATION

> Seldom in the history of the world has an almost totally illiterate population been given the means of self-education in so short a time. The movement started with the [N]egroes themselves and they continued to form the dynamic force behind it. 'This great multitude rose up simultaneously and asked for intelligence.' The education of this mass had to begin at the top with the training of teachers, and within a few years a dozen colleges and normal schools started; by 1877, 571,506 [N]egro children were in school. There can be no doubt that these schools were a great conservative steadying force to which the South owes much. It must not be forgotten that among the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau were not only soldiers and politicians but school-teachers and educational leaders . . .
>
> —W. E. B. Du Bois, Reconstruction and Its Benefits

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Several of the churches, schools and communities discussed in this study are overlapping and synonymous. Often the church anchored the community while also functioning as a school. The history of education in the NCA is uneven, ranging from robust participation and funding sources, to slow to develop and poorly funded, resistant municipal involvement. Educational opportunities varied within each state or county as well. In Virginia in particular but also present in the attitudes throughout much of the south before the Civil War, a literate slave was considered a dangerous slave. For Blacks, acquiring the tools and skills of literacy was often a surreptitious act. Unlike Virginia, Maryland had not legislated an outright ban on education for African Americans, but The Educational Committee for Maryland's 1864 Constitutional Convention refused to fund schools for its Black citizens. Across the Area, however, church associations, denominations and societies, in addition to private individuals, were the stalwarts of education for both the enslaved and for free Blacks.

Private citizens and religious groups sponsored schools for free African Americans in the District of Columbia as early as 1807. Churches, particularly African American churches and other buildings been built for non-educational purposes housed the schools. Black churches through their Sabbath schools provided education whenever and wherever they could. Before the Civil War, the AME church was often called the Church Militant or the Abolition Church in part because of its radical stance around self-determination and an educated ministry. Baptist, Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterians also featured prominently in facilitating learning. Long before education for African Americans became a state or politi-

cal concern, the church had established Sabbath Schools that combined religious education with literacy derived through the pages of the bible.[533]

Between 1831 and 1835, response to the Nat Turner uprising in South Hampton, VA and the related "Snow Riots" pushed the development of early schools for African Americans in the District of Columbia in a downward direction causing fearful whites to withdraw their backing of these Black educational institutions. Black and white relations had become so bleak according to noted Black educator Winfield Montgomery, a Howard trained physician, that "most of the colored schoolhouses were burned or demolished, textbooks, apparatus, and furniture destroyed" in 1835.[534] The schools and the impulse toward education survived the attacks.

By 1851 in the District, Miss Myrtilla Miner, an ardent white teacher, established one of the nation's first high schools for Black women. The original school was located three blocks from the future site of Stevens School on the square bounded by 19th, 20th, N, and O Streets, N. W. Miner had abolitionist support for this school which was to become a national model for the education of African American teachers.[535]

Immediately following emancipation in Maryland, Blacks wasted little time in their efforts to secure formal education. In the District, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia, the Freedmen's Bureau helped build schools and provided funding for construction lumber, books, desks, fuel and teacher salaries. Often these first schools were established either in the basement or other spaces of existing churches or within the homes of individuals who gave over space for that purpose.

---

533 "District of Columbia Inventory of Historic Sites," Government of the District of Columbia, Historic Preservation Review Board, September 20, 2009, https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%200%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf; "Replace or Modernize? The Future of the District of Columbia's Endangered Old and Historic Public Schools," Educational Resources Information Center, U. S. Department of Education, 23, accessed June 25, 2021, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED454694.pdf.

534 Emmett D. Preston, "The Development of Negro Education in the District of Columbia, 1800-1860." *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 2 (1943): 189-98. Accessed July 21, 2020; Winfield S. Montgomery, "Historical Sketch of Education for the Colored Race in the District of Columbia, 1807-1905," Report of the Board of Education, 1904-05, 104; Thaddeus Stevens School, National Register of Historical Places Registration Form, http://www.historicwashington.org/docs/Historic%20Landmark%20Application/Thaddeus%20Stevens%20School.pdf, accessed July 27, 2020; "Dr. Montgomery Dead at Home Here: Former School Official Ill Only Brief Time; Teacher for 47 Years," *The Washington Post*, September 12, 1928, 17.

535 "Replace or Modernize?"

WASHINGTON, D.C.

QUEST FOR EDUCATION

A fundamental system of private day schools organized largely within the African American community existed in Washington by 1861 at the outbreak of the Civil War. Forty-five percent of the free Black children in the District of Columbia were able to attend these schools. In Commissioner of Education Henry Barnard's May 30, 1868 report, he informed the United States Senate regarding the condition and improvement of Public Schools in the District of Columbia. The Commissioner remarked that these early schools demonstrated "the educational capabilities of the [N]egro race from actual experience in the District of Columbia to encourage the education, in common schools, of this 'nation within a nation' . . ."[536]

During the Civil War, the migration of the newly freed bondsmen and women from the South after emancipation caused the District's African American community to approximately triple in size. Often the freedmen were forced to settle in substandard housing near the District's established and cohesive free African American communities. Education was adopted as an essential tool for adding this striving new group into society. Schooling for African American children often started in church basements as Sunday or Missionary Schools then transitioned to formal public schools. These early education establishments became the forerunner to public schools in the country providing learning for both lower class African American students as well as white students.

The Freedmen's education movement was another crucial feature of this period. The movement generated a range of educational institutions and responses, ranging from a room in a home, to tiny one-room schoolhouses designed for early learners, to church basement spaces, to institutions of higher education meant for the training of teachers and doctors, lawyers and other professionals. Repeatedly and in the face of great odds, the District's African American residents demonstrated their capacity to support and educate themselves even as they paid their taxes in support of white schools they were forbidden to attend. In several cases they expended great sums to purchase themselves and their families out of slavery. "Their history furnished an example of financial literacy, courage and success in the midst of trial and oppression scarcely equaled in the annals of mankind."[537]

[536] Henry Barnard, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1867-'68* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), 901, accessed June 9, 2021, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Report_of_the_Commissioner_of_Education/0Eo6AQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=the+educational+capabilities+of+the+%5BNegro+race+from+actual+experience+in+the+District+of+Columbia+to+encourage+the+education,+in+common+schools,+of+this+%E2%80%98nation+within+a+nation&pg=PA901&printsec=frontcover.

[537] George F. T. Cook, "Historical Sketch of the Colored Schools, Past and Present," First Report of the Board of Trustees of Public Schools of the District of Columbia, 1874- 75. Washington City: M'gill & Witherow, Printers and Stereotypers, 1876, 92.

Congressional legislation abolished slavery in the District of Columbia on April 16, 1862. A month later, the abolition of slavery was followed by an Act that required that ten percent of the taxes collected from persons of color in Washington and Georgetown "be set apart for the purpose of initiating a system of primary schools for the education of colored children" in the District.[538]

On July 11, 1862, Congress created the three member "Board of Trustees for the Colored Schools of Washington and Georgetown." Control of these schools were transferred to the board. In turn, board oversight was assigned to the Department of the Interior. The Architect of the Capitol approved building construction. Despite these Congressional measures, the monies supplied for the schools were so limited that not a single school was established.[539]

The absence of adequate funds from the public sector, did not dissuade the private sector from continuing its support of Black schools. Following issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, the cause of education of the Black population found new adherents in the District. The formerly enslaved had suffered near total denial of education and adults as well as children needed to learn to read and write. To meet these problems, The National Freedman's Relief Association established night schools to accommodate those who worked or otherwise could not attend during the day. The Association established schools in former temporary barracks structures and also built schoolhouses for day students.[540]

A positive for Black Washington during the Civil War was congressional legislation mandating public school education for Black children between the ages of six and fourteen and a separate board of trustees for the colored public schools. Passed in May 1862, the oversight of how to fund these schools was not fully corrected until 1866.[541] Following the Congressional funding for African American students of 1862, additional legislation provided for a fairer distribution of funds in June of 1864. In the face of sagging funding from congressional legislation, the first public elementary school for African Americans opened in 1864 in a room in the Little Ebenezer Church on 4th & D SE on Capitol Hill. Later, the school was moved into

538 CHAP. LXXXIII, "An Act providing for the Education of Colored Children in the.Cities of Washington and Georgetown, District of Columbia, and for other Purposes," Thirty-Seventh Congress, May 21, 1862, 407, accessed June 11, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/37th-congress/session-2/c37s2ch83.pdf.

539 Emmett D. Preston, "The Development of Negro Education in the District of Columbia." The Journal of Negro Education 9, no. 4 (1940): 595-603 accessed July 27, 2020. doi:10.2307/2292805.

540 Parmet, Robert D. "SCHOOLS FOR THE FREEDMEN." Negro History Bulletin 34, no. 6 (1971): 128-32. Accessed July 27, 2020, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/24766513.

541 CHAP. LXXXIII. "An Act providing for the Education of Colored Children in the Public Acts of the Cities of Washington and Georgetown, District of Columbia, and for other Purposes," Thirty-Seventh Congress of the United States, May 21, 1862, accessed June 11, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/37th-congress/session-2/c37s2ch83.pdf,.

its own building, erected with donated funds.[542] The frame structure built in 1865 at Second and C Street, SE (razed) became the first free-standing public schoolhouse for Black learners.[543] In 1866 two additional two-story schoolhouses were built from the lumber of Civil War barracks–the Eliza Chamberlain School on East Street in Georgetown, and a school at Seventeenth and M Streets, N. W. Chamberlain School was abandoned in 1892-93 and razed in 1902-03.

Moses Goodwin's account of early African American life in the District of Columbia details the first schoolhouse in the District of Columbia built expressly for the education of colored children. It was erected by three men, George Bell, Nicholas Franklin and Moses Liverpool, who had been born into slavery in Maryland and Virginia and came into adulthood under that status. Goodwin's rare surviving account continued: "George Bell was the leading spirit in this remarkable educational enterprise and was conspicuous in all efforts for the benefit of his race in this community." Bell had been enslaved by Anthony Addison, owner of a large plantation that bordered the District beyond the Eastern Branch. Bell's wife, Sophia Browning, had been enslaved by the Bell family on the Patuxent.[544]

Prominent names in education in the District emerged during this period. Often, they were connected with the church. In 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau opened Good Hope School to serve Blacks living near what is today the junction of Good Hope and Naylor roads. The Reverend John S. Dore was the first teacher for the school. By May 1866, the school was reporting 339 students.[545] Other educators emerged such as John F. Cook, Sr., called "Washington's first civil rights leader" by correspondent Jefferson Morley.[546] Decades before establishment of the public school system in the District, Cook became schoolmaster of Union Seminary in 1834. Cook's small frame schoolhouse, which he renamed Union Seminary (formerly the Smothers School and Columbia Institute) at the corner of 14th and H streets, NW served as its first home. It was the largest school for Blacks in the city. A year later during the Snow Riots, a white mob attacked, burned and completely destroyed the one-room schoolhouse forcing Cook to temporarily flee the city. The educator and pastor returned to rebuild his church and establish the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church.[547]

542 Fletcher, *Washington Reconstruction Communities.*
543 Winfield S. Montgomery, op. cit., 118.
544 Henry Barnard, ed. *The American Journal of Education, Volume 3* (Hartford: Office of American Journal of Education, 1870), 196.
545 Portia, East of the River, 30, http://cdi.anacostia.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Portia-James-EOR-Article.pdf
546 Jefferson Morley "From Abolitionism to OccupyDC," accessed June 11, 2020, https://www.salon.com/2012/01/16/from_abolition_to_occupydc/.
547 Constance McLaughlin Green, *Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

Originally, the first church building had been erected on 15th Street between I and K Streets, NW in 1853, where McPherson Square now stands. As an essential religious, educational as well as social center, the church first housed the Preparatory School for Colored Youth, the first public high school in the city. The school enjoys the distinction of being one of the first Black high schools in the United States.[548]

In 1868, for the first time, the Washington, D.C. city directory listed "Colored Public Schools" and noted that there were 62 teachers, 3000 pupils; 4 large permanent buildings, 2 of which were brick, offering 36 classrooms. In total there were at least 15 schoolhouses most of which had "primary" schools and a few with adult schools. Reconstruction brought formal education financed through public funds to at least 33 percent of Washington's school-age African American learners.[549]

The Charles Sumner School at 1201 17th Street, NW, Washington, DC. Was built in 1872 on the site of an 1866 school constructed under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau, with lumber salvaged from barracks. Designed by Adolf Cluss, Charles Sumner School was one of the early public schools for African Americans in Washington, D.C. The school quickly became the flagship school for African American education efforts in Washington, D.C. following the Civil War. Three buildings (Stevens/Sumner) are on the District of Columbia Inventory and on the National Register.[550]

In 1868, William Syphax was appointed to the D.C. Board of Trustees of Colored Public Schools, serving three years in total, two as chairman and one as treasurer. He was to have great influence over many education initiatives for African American youth of the District. The Thaddeus Stevens School, located a few blocks from the White House at 1050 21st Street NW, Washington, D.C., was built in 1868, enlarged in 1883 and rebuilt in 1896. Initially mandated for African American students as part of a racially segregated public school system, the Stevens School became the first public school building in the District providing facilities for African Americans that were considered comparable to those being provided for white students. The school first served a diverse West End community made up of newly arrived freedmen as well as African Americans who had been free for generations. In 1868 this low-lying, swampy West End site was in an African American

548 District of Columbia Inventory of Historic Sites, September 30, 2009, accessed March 7, 2021, https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%200%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf.

549 Lillian Gertrude Dabney, "The history of schools for Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1807-1947." Ph.D. Diss. Catholic University of America, 1949.

550 The Charles Sumner School, National Register of Historic Places Inventory, Nomination Form, November 6, 1979, accessed March 8, 2021, https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/c67f54e8-52b3-4579-abe7-c200ecaedaad?branding=NRHP.

neighborhood at the northwestern edge of development in Washington City near Rock Creek, Washington Circle and Georgetown. Slash Run, infamous as an open sewer, touched the northeastern boundary of the Square near the 16,481 square foot school site. The lineage of Stevens School illustrates the pursuit for educational distinction and the battle for equivalent educational prospects for African Americans in the District of Columbia after freedom came.[551]

M Street High School, founded in 1870 (built in 1891) as the Preparatory High School for Negro Youth, was initially located in the Stevens building on 21st Street. It came into existence after twenty years of trying to establish a college preparatory program for African Americans in the District. Stevens School became the first public school building to house the newly founded Preparatory High School, one of the first such schools in the nation, founded by the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church. That year William Syphax, the first chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Colored Public Schools in the District of Columbia founded the college Preparatory High School for Colored Youth in the church basement.[552] Dunbar High School, one of the nation's most respected African American schools, developed from that church basement school.

The prestigious Dunbar High School can trace its lineage from the basement of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church to the founding of the Thaddeus Stevens School to the Charles Sumner School to M Street High School during the early days of Reconstruction into the 21st century.[553] Between 1870 and 1891, the school was housed in a number of locations. According to the history of Dunbar High School, roughly four periods explain its lineage. The first period, starting in 1870, began when Syphax organized the Preparatory High School for Colored Youth and opened its doors in the basement of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, between I and K Street NW. The school operated out of the Thaddeus Stevens School from 1871-1872; The Preparatory School moved to the Charles Sumner School from 1872-1877 and operated for a period in the Myrtilla Miner school at 7th & Church Street, NW and remained there until 1891 when it became the M Street High School. When M Street outgrew its building in 1916, Dunbar High School replaced it, which was constructed at First Street between N and O Streets, NW a few blocks north of the original 1891 building..[554]

551 Ibid.; Thaddeus Stevens School, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, accessed March 7, 2021, https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/812ea738-a29d-4de5-be6b-7691c4f6ef02?branding=NRHP.

552 Mary Church Terrell, History of the High School for Negroes in Washington, The Journal of Negro History, Jul., 1917, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Jul., 1917), 252-266, accessed March 8, 2021, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2713767.pdf; Evelyn Reid Syphax, "William Syphax-Community Leader," Arlington Historical Society, accessed June 13, 2019, http://arlingtonhistoricalsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/1977-5-William.pdf.

553 Ibid.

554 Dunbar High School History, Dunbar Alumni Federation, accessed September 17, 2019,

School Principals included Francis Cardozo, Judge Robert H. Terrell and Anna Julia Cooper. Nannie Helen Burroughs and Carter G. Woodson were among the high school's luminary instructors.[555] The school continued in its nurturing role for both students and neighborhood throughout the long period of racial discrimination and inequality of opportunity prior to desegregation of the public schools in 1954.[556]

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

John Fox Slater Elementary School located at 45 P Street, NW, Washington, DC began in 1891. At opening, the school was immediately at capacity, demonstrating the need for such institutions. The John Langston School was built to help with overcrowding in 1902. As was the case with most of the schools initiated during this time period, the school was intended to serve African Americans grades 1-8. Langston School was part of a complex of schools in the Shaw East neighborhood of Washington, D.C. along First Street, NW between L and P Streets built and intended for African Americans. The new school was named in honor of John Mercer Langston (1829-1897), the first African American congressman from Virginia. Langston, a distinguished diplomat, had an outstanding academic and legal career in the District. Between 1895 and 1902, the Langston School was one of thirty-one schools opened during a period of steady population growth in the District, including along the North Capitol Street corridor.[557]

Solomon G. Brown of Barry Farm established and served as superintendent of the Pioneer Sabbath School as well as the North Washington Mission Sunday School. He then became president of the National Union League.[558] Born a free man when slavery was legal in Washington, D.C., Brown joined the staff of the Smithsonian shortly after it was founded in 1846. As the first African American employee at the Smithsonian Institution, Brown served fifty-four years from 1852 to 1906. He served under the first three Smithsonian Secretaries, Joseph Henry, Spencer Fullerton Baird, and Samuel P. Langley and formed a deep personal friendship with [Secretary] Baird. Brown worked as a clerk for the Smithsonian International Exchange Service, disseminating scholarly publications around the world

http://daf-dc.org/about/dunbar-history.

555 Ann Michele Mason, "Nannie H. Burroughs' Rhetorical Leadership During the Inter-War Period," Ph.D. Diss, University of Maryland, 2008.

556 Thaddeus Stevens School, National Register of Historic Places, Registration Form, November 30, 2001, accessed March 8, 2021, http://www.historicwashington.org/docs/Historic%20Landmark%20Application/Thaddeus%20Stevens%20School.pdf.

557 "John Mercer Langston School," National Register of Historic Places Program, National Park Service, accessed September 17, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/13000143.htm.

558 "Solomon Brown: First African American Employee at the Smithsonian Institution," Stories from the Smithsonian, accessed September 17, 2019, https://siarchives.si.edu/history/featured-topics/stories/solomon-brown-first-African American-employee-smithsonian-institution.

after Baird's death in 1887. Within his own Anacostia (Hillsdale) community, Brown was viewed as a leader. He was elected to the D.C. House of Delegates, was a member of the Freedman's Relief Association, and a trustee of Wilberforce University and the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church. Throughout his life, he remained deeply committed to bettering education and gaining opportunities for African American citizens.[559]

CONGRESS HEIGHTS

Giesboro Point[560] is located east of the Potomac River just beyond Anacostia in Congress Heights. Thomas Addison built a plantation near there. As early as 1796, the census indicated that there were seven white males, eight white females, and ninety-six "Negroes" living on the Giesboro Tract. In 1881, children who lived on the farms in the area of Congress Heights attended a one-room frame schoolhouse called "Giesboro" School. It was torn down in 1897 and replaced with the current Congress Heights Public School which replaced the one-room Giesboro School for white children that had been on the site.[561]

BARRY FARMS

Barry Farms was established as a Freedmen's Village in 1867. Initially, residents organized and funded their own schools until a Freedmen's school could be built. Residents began fundraising for a school immediately, and soon purchased land and built a school with the Bureau's assistance. Mt. Zion Hill School was a private school constructed by Black families for children in the Barry Farms community on Douglass Road and was later named the Howard School in December 1867. Barry Farms changed its name to Hillsdale in 1871.

Three years after the construction of the Howard School, Carpenter Peter Wilkinson, one of the early residents, sold one of his lots for the construction of "Hillsdale School" and also built the school. The once enslaved homesteaders of Barry's Farm, helped to build the school which was located at the intersection of Nichols (now Martin Luther King, Jr. Avenue) and Sheridan Avenues. Hillsdale School was the Anacostia community's first and largest public school for Blacks opened the same year. The school housed day classes for young people and evening classes for adult learners who were determined to learn to read and write. Until the construction of James G. Birney School in 1901, Hillsdale and Howard

559 "Solomon Brown: First African American Employee at the Smithsonian Institution," https://siarchives.si.edu/history/featured-topics/stories/solomon-brown-first-African American-employee-smithsonian-institution

560 Also spelled "Giesborough Point."

561 "Exploring Congress Heights," Brochure, accessed March 21, 2020, https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Congress%2520Heights%2520Brochure.pdf.

were the only schools providing an education for African American children east of the Anacostia River.[562]

Anacostia's James G. Birney School also known as the Nichols Avenue Elementary School/Old Birney School opened in Hillsdale in 1889 (the building was constructed in 1901) and represented the city's first school built with public funds for Blacks. The school was named to honor Birney, the white Kentucky abolitionist who had liberated the people he had enslaved and published an anti-slavery newspaper The Philanthropist, in Cincinnati, Ohio. The original building was razed in 1914 and its replacement later became a community center and DC Public Library branch.[563]

VIRGINIA SCHOOLS

ANTI-LITERACY LAWS

In an 1805 Virginia law, overseers of the poor were forbidden from requiring that Black apprentices be taught reading and writing. An 1819 law forbade the teaching of Negroes or free Mulattoes and provided for a fine as punishment of an offending teacher, Black or white, or twenty lashes on the back for each and every offense. The Virginia assembly further explained the ruling, in addition to being banned from assembling at meetinghouses, Virginia's enslaved workers were also barred from "any school or schools for teaching them reading or writing, either in the day or night." Such gatherings were deemed unlawful assemblies.[564] The Virginia General Assembly passed an 1830 law forbidding the teaching of free Blacks and enslaved people. Constables were required to disband every school caught educating African Americans, whether a day or night school, or operating in a church building or private home. The law forced the schools intended to teach African Americans to become secretive and protective of their knowledge; children as well as adults concealed the fact that they could read or write. An 1839 law ruled that those Blacks educated outside Virginia was prohibited from reentering the state. The restrictions placed on educating the Black community, did not deter them from receiving some level of schooling. By June 1831, two months prior to Nat Turner's rebellion, the anti-literacy restrictions applied to both the enslaved

562 "Hillsdale School, African American Heritage Trail," Cultural Tourism DC, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/web/portal%20/hillsdale-school-African American-heritage-trail; Kalfani Nyerere Turè, "Fighting for the Farms: Structural Violence, Race and Resistance in Washington, D.C.," Doctoral Dissertation, American University, accessed June 26, 2021, https://dra.american.edu/islandora/object/auislandora%3A68576/datastream/PDF/view.

563 Louise Daniel Hutchinson, *The Anacostia Story, 1608-1930* (Washington: Published for the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum of the Smithsonian Institution by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1977).

564 Virginia Revised Code of 1819; Chapter 198, Section 32, The Code of Virginia: With the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States; and the Declaration of Rights and Constitution of Virginia (Richmond: William F. Ritchie, 1849).

and to free Blacks and the fine was increased to a maximum of one hundred dollars.[565]

After Turner's rebellion at Southampton, white Virginian's opposition to educating African Americans only strengthened. After 1838, free Blacks who left the Commonwealth for instruction were forbidden from returning. During the 1801-1847 period when Alexandria was part of the District of Columbia, restrictions on African Americans were less stringent in comparison to other parts of the state. With the ratification of retrocession in 1847, all instruction of African Americans was prohibited. In a demonstration of how acutely Virginia policed the education of African Americans, by 1848, Virginia was one of two states that criminalized schooling for enslaved and free African Americans alike. The law was zealously upheld.[566] According to historian Ronald E. Butchart, "Clandestine schools operated in nearly every city and large town in the state. Some, in cities such as Alexandria . . . were not even particularly secret. As long as the teachers and students were circumspect about their activities, authorities looked the other way. It is doubtful, however, that more than 5 to 10 percent of Virginia's African Americans had access to literacy before the war."[567] The new state of West Virginia carved out of the northwestern portion of Virginia would emerge from and be shaped by these laws. Against and despite this legal backdrop, a portion of Virginia Blacks did manage to obtain an education before the Civil War.[568]

EARLIEST SCHOOLS IN VIRGINIA

As early as 1809 in Alexandria, a few African Americans were able to attend schools held in private homes or churches. An association comprised of the most influential African Americans of the city founded a free school after the war of 1812. The school operated on the top floor of the three-story Alexandria Academy (Washington Free School Building), located on the east side of South Washington Street, between Wolfe and Wilkes Streets. After the Academy building was sold in 1823, it remains uncertain whether the school continued.[569]

565 African American Historic Resources of Alexandria, Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, accessed June 26, 2021, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015_AfricanAmericanHistoricResourcesOfAlexandria_2003_NR_nomination_MPD.pdf.

566 U.S. Bureau of Education, Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools: in the District of Columbia: submitted to Senate June 1868, and to the House with addition, June 13, 1870. (Washington, DC: [publisher not identified], 1871), 285, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951000947607p&view=1up&seq=297; Multiple Property Nomination Form, accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015_AfricanAmericanHistoricResourcesOfAlexandria_2003_NR_nomination_MPD.pdf.

567 Ronald E. Butchart, Freedmen's Education in Virginia, 1861–1870, Encyclopedia of Virginia, accessed March 19, 2021, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/freedmens-education-in-virginia-1861-1870/.

568 Hilary J. Moss, *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African American Education in Antebellum America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

569 U.S. Bureau of Education, Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condi-

Before the Civil War, African American women had conducted classes in secret. Blacks were able to safely gather for social, religious or educational purpose after the occupation of the city by federal troops in 1861. As soon as Union forces secured Alexandria, teachers felt safe enough to openly teach classes. Two African American teachers, Mrs. Jane A. Crouch and Miss Sarah A. Gray started the St. Rose Institute, a day and evening school on West Street between King and Prince Streets. Both women were native to Alexandria. Gray, who had studied under Myrtilla Miner, went on to open her own school in Alexandria. Throughout the time period, various religious groups, denominations and societies fostered, funded and supported the push toward education both before the Civil War and after during Reconstruction. In 1870, Virginia's legislature mandated a statewide segregated public school system for all citizens.[570]

Partial Listing of Freedmen's Bureau School in Virginia, 1865-1870

FREEDMEN'S SCHOOL	LOCATION	PATRON OR BENEVOLENT SOCIETY SPONSOR
Alexandria City School	Alexandria	American Missionary Association
Fairfax School	Fairfax	Friends Association of Philadelphia
Gunn Spring	Fairfax County	Friends Society of Philadelphia
Herndon School	Fairfax County	Friends Society of Philadelphia
Lincoln Village School	Fairfax	Freedmen
Mt. Pisgah School	Fall Church	Friends Society of Philadelphia
Mt. Zion School	Unknown National	Freedmen's Relief Aid Assoc. of New York
Waterford School	Loudoun County	Friends Association of Philadelphia

Table 7. Partial Listing of Freedmen's Bureau School in Virginia, 1865-1870. Source: Data adapted from Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Records of the Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia, 1865-1870, RG105, Roll-15, 32.

ALEXANDRIA

"The earliest schools for contrabands in the country were opened in Alexandria, and to the honor of the colored people, be it said, were established wholly by themselves. . . The first three schools organized in Alexandria for colored instruction, after the war opened were taught by colored persons."[571] Freedmen and

tion and Improvement of Public Schools: in the District of Columbia: submitted to Senate June 1868, and to the House with addition, June 13, 1870. (Washington, DC: [publisher not identified], 1871), https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951000947607p&view=1up&seq=297; African American Historic Resources of Alexandria, Virginia, Multiple Property Documentation Form, accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015_AfricanAmericanHistoricResourcesOfAlexandria_2003_NR_nomination_MPD.pdf.

570 Multiple Property Documentation Form, African American Historic Resources of Alexandria, Virginia.

571 U.S. Bureau of Education, Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools: in the District of Columbia: submitted to Senate June 1868, and to the House with addition, June 13, 1870. (Washington, DC: [publisher not identified], 1871), 285, 293, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951000947607p&view=1up&seq=297; African American Historic Resources of Alexandria, Virginia, Multiple

women and former slaves who were insistent upon educating their children, found a way to literally created schools for themselves. In 1861, Mary Chase of the Columbia Street School, found work as a relief agent in Alexandria, Virginia, where she helped thousands of people who had crossed Union lines to escape slavery. She and other African American teachers run the American Baptist Free Mission Society Columbus Street School on Wolf Street, known simply as the Columbia Street School, until 1866. The Hayti community's George L. Seaton took on the position head trustee of the First Free School Society of Alexandria and built two schools for African American children in the City.[572]

The third contraband school was organized, January 1, 1862 by Baptist minister, Rev. Clem Robinson. With a few schools and churches offering classes for African Americans, a religious group organized by Robinson, formed The First Select Colored School. Robinson was founder of both the school and a church. Despite such setbacks, the school continued to operate. Robinson changed name of the upper school to Beulah Normal and Theological Institute. Educating upper-level students, preachers and teachers was the focus of the Institute. Leland Warring who was himself a contraband opened the fourth school for contrabands in the Lancaster schoolhouse in Alexandria in November 1862. In February 1863, the school was moved to the Freedmen's Home in the barrack buildings at the corner of Prince and Royal streets. At least ten schools for freedmen's children opened in Alexandria after 1861. They were compelled, however, to charge a fee and/or were white-led. Several of the contraband schools were conducted either wholly or partly for pay and were started and conducted by African Americans. Five additional private or for pay schools were started in 1863 included:

Fee-based Schools in Alexandria, 1863

NAME OF SCHOOL	LOCATION
The First Free Colored Day School	Freedmen's Home corner of Prince and Royal Streets
Union Town School	corner of Union and Wolf
Primary School (for Contrabands)	on Princess between Pitt and Asaph Streets
Newtown School	west end of Cameron Street
Sickles Barracks School	corner of Prince and Patrick Streets

Table 8. Fee-based Schools in Alexandria, 1863. From: U.S. Bureau of Education, Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools in the District of Columbia, 287-88

Property Documentation Form, accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015_AfricanAmericanHistoricResourcesOfAlexandria_2003_NR_nomination_MPD.pdf; Henry Barnard, ed., The American Journal of Education, Vol 3., 1870, Hartford: Office of American Journal of Education, 283-293.

572 Multiple Property Documentation Form, African American Historic Resources of Alexandria, Virginia.

Activist, freedmen's advocate, and freedom seeker, Harriet Jacobs was sent to Alexandria by a society of Friends in New York with the intent of looking after and aiding the Freedmen who were gathering there. They established a school and sent to the New-England Society for assistance in maintaining it. A tuition-free school for African American children established by Harriet Jacobs, relished her leadership. The Jacobs Free School was one of the more important schools established in Alexandria at the corner of Pitt and Roanoke Streets in 1864. The school was established with the added support of The New England Freedmen's Aid Society which collected hundreds of dollars from the freedman to build the school. Jacobs went on to travel widely, from Washington, D. C. to New York and on to Europe to collect funds for the building, for furnishing the school and to pay teachers.

Established in a part of the city known as Petersburg in 1864, the African American community that housed the school was known simply as "the Berg."[573] Jacobs travelled tirelessly across multiple freedmen's sites to advocate for healthcare, education, housing, and, more broadly, for the human rights and dignity of the newly freed people. In her writings and actions, Jacobs expressed her motivation and intentions, "I wanted the colored men to learn the time had come when it was their privilege to have something to say."[574] Between 1864 and 1865, five "national" schools were organized in Alexandria, mostly by groups from other states. Virginia Area schools opened by or with funds from the Freedmen Bureau during that time included:[575]

Virginia Schools in the NCA opened by or with funds from the Freedmen's Bureau

NAME OF SCHOOL	LOCATION
Alfred Street School	Alexandria
Stanton Union	Alexandria
Beulah School	Alexandria
Washington Street	Alexandria
Falls Church	Fairfax County
Vienna, VA	Fairfax
Fairfax	-
Lewinsville	-
Woodlawn	-

573 Ibid., 289.

574 Harriet Jacobs to Hannah Stevenson, March 10, 1864, reprinted in Yellin, et al., 551 as cited in Paula Tarnapol Whitacre, Harriet Jacobs: Working For Freedpeople In Civil War Alexandria, Journal of the Civil War Era, UNC Press, July 16, 2019, accessed March 8, 2021, https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2019/07/harriet-jacobs-working-for-freedpeople-in-civil-war-alexandria/.

575 School Reports of the 10th Sub District of Virginia, various dates, Freedmen Bureau Field Office Records 1863-1878 as cited in Debbie Robison, "Educating Freedmen During Reconstruction in Fairfax County," Dec. 6, 2014, Northern Virginia History Notes, accessed March 21, 2021, http://www.novahistory.org/FreedmenEducation/FreedmenEducation.htm.

Table 9. Virginia Schools in the NCA opened by or with funds from the Freedmen's Bureau

Initially, churches and religious institutions had been the main providers of education in the city before a public school system was formed. In 1867, the Freedmen's Bureau built two schoolhouses, one on Pitts Street, the other on Alfred Street. In 1866, local African Americans purchased the land, held public meetings to rally support for two schools to be built by the Freedmen's Bureau, one on Pitt Street, the other on Alfred. The residents raised the money to pay for the two schools. The Bureau erected the schools with the funds they raised. The estimated value of the two schools and the lots on which they sat, was $13,500. By 1869, five schools were operating out of each of the buildings. The ten schools had an average attendance of 420 scholars with more than 500 names on the rolls. Rev. Robinson's school had 100 students and Miss. Sarah Gray's school had an enrollment of 70 students.[576]

The Freedmen's Bureau offered great service in their partnership with the Black community in their role as facilitator in building and establishing schools. As the Bureau faced extinction, no public school system had been established in the city of Alexandria nor in the Commonwealth of Virginia. The Bureau found the prospects for the freed men and women left in the hands of Virginians far from encouraging. Its report offered a gloomy assessment for the future of education for the newly freed in Alexandria "in the midst of a population where hardly a single resident has the least sympathy with any work for the elevation of the colored race, and where most are strongly even bitterly opposed to such efforts."[577]

FAIRFAX COUNTY

Contraband camps were the site of some of the first schools established in Fairfax County for the formerly enslaved. A school was located at Camp Wadsworth near present-day McLean, Virginia. The school were established on two farms, the Upper Farm and the Lower Farm. Attendance was poor, however, due to a government policy of binding children out in private homes once they were old enough to work. Since many parents were not willing to be separated from their children they avoided the situation by leaving the camp.[578]

576 Henry G. Morgan, Jr. "Education" in Alexandria: A Tome in Transition. 1800-1900, John D. Macoll, ed. (Alexandria, VA: Alexandria Bicentennial Corporation, 1977), 104 as cited in Multiple Property Nomination Form, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015_AfricanAmericanHistoricResourcesOfAlexandria_2003_NR_nomination_MPD.pdf; Alexander Academy, George Washington's Mt. Vernon, accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/alexandria-academy/.

577 U.S. Bureau of Education, Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools: in the District of Columbia, 292.

578 Debbie Robinson, "Educating Freedmen During Reconstruction in Fairfax County," Northern Virginia History Notes, http://www.novahistory.org/FreedmenEducation/Freedmen-Education.htm.

Several separate schools—largely one room schoolhouses–were organized for the education of the county's Black learners. Private schools existed in the Gum Springs area, in Falls Church, and perhaps at Springfield and Burkes Station. Sometime prior to June 1865, African Americans residing in the Accotink and Gum Springs area created their own private school. On June 8, 1865, the house that was being used as the school at Gum Springs was "set on fire and burned to the ground." George Carse, a Freedmen's Bureau representative reported that "it was believed to have been set on fire *by some malicious white person to prevent the colored children being educated*." Undaunted by the attack, the school was moved Charles Ford's house near Gum Springs.[579]

An African American woman at an undetermined location in Falls Church made a room in her house available for a privately sponsored day school. Known as the Mission School, about fifty or sixty students attended. July Ford Rogers of Gum Springs, Jesse Harris of Centerville and John Bell of Baileys Crossroads were among the Black church congregants and individual funders who set aside land for public schools. Other African American landowners such as Georgianna and William Jasper of Franconia, and Alfred Odrick of McLean also donated land.

Many of the schools dedicated to educating the new freemen and women came about because of cooperative efforts. The Freedmen's Bureau's supplied building materials and funds to erect the schools. The freedmen themselves provided the labor to build the schools and, whenever possible, funded the land purchases for the school lots and helped in paying teacher salaries. The Friends' Association (of Philadelphia) for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen supplied funds, clothing and other necessities and were concerned with the "intellectual and moral elevation" of the new freedmen and women.

In 1866, The Fairfax Court House Freedmen's Bureau School located on the south side of Little River Turnpike was completed by April. The school was likely situated between the east bank of Daniels Run (at Main Street) and the present-day Fairfax Museum and Visitors Center, in close proximity to the Daniels Run floodplain. Members of the 107th U.S.C.T disassembled the building at Fairfax Station and rebuilt it at Fairfax Court House. Although the small log structure had few windows, inadequate chinking between the logs made it drafty. The interior of the building was open. The soldiers of the 107th furnished the school with hand hewn

[579] Debbie Robinson, "Educating Freedmen During Reconstruction in Fairfax County," Northern Virginia History Notes, accessed June 20, 2020, http://www.novahistory.org/FreedmenEducation/FreedmenEducation.htm; Henrietta Stratton Jaquette, Friends' Association of Philadelphia For the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen, Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1975, 67-83, 70.

desks and benches constructed of rough planks. However, by the winter of 1870, the Freedmen's School at Fairfax Court House closed due to lack of funding.[580]

Between 1864 and 1868, fifteen schools were established in Fairfax County for freedmen that were partially supported by the Freedmen's Bureau:[581]

Fairfax County Schools Supported by Freedmen's Bureau

Name of School	Location
Andrew's Chapel	Big Falls (Great Falls)
Camp Wadsworth Upper Farm	Camp Wadsworth Lower Farm
Centreville	Fairfax Court House
Falls Church	Frying Pan (Herndon)
Gum Springs	Langley
Lewinsville	Lincoln Village (Lincolnia)
Painter's School	Vienna (located on Ox Road 3 miles south of Fairfax Station)
Woodlawn	Accotink

Table 10. **Fairfax County Schools Supported by Freedmen's Bureau. Source: Northern Virginia History Notes[582]**

Fairfax County established a public school system for the first time in 1870. The schools were either designated Colored, by alphabetical listing or by the term Negro in parenthesis.

Falls Church became an independent municipality within Fairfax County in 1875, separate from the surrounding Arlington and Fairfax Counties. The Falls Church Colored School was founded during the Civil War and supported by the Black community. By the early 1880s, Laurel Grove Colored School at 6840 Beulah St, served as a one-room schoolhouse. It served the Black children of Franconia until 1932. The school survives as the only remaining African American schoolhouse in Northern Virginia. It now operates as a living museum.[583]

Additionally, Clara Shorts Adams and Robert Adams conveyed a quarter-acre to the Falls Church School District of Fairfax County in 1898 for the purpose of

580 William Page Johnson, II, "The Freedmen's Bureau and School at Fairfax Court House," The Fare Facs Gazette, 13:4, Fall 2016, accessed July 27, 2020, https://www.historicfairfax.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/HFCI1304-2016.pdf.

581 William Page Johnson, II, The Freedmen's Bureau and School at Fairfax Court House, The Fare Facs Gazette, Vol. 13, Issue 4, Fall 2016, accessed March 20, 2021, https://www.historic-fairfax.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/HFCI1304-2016.pdf.

582 Debbie Robison, Educating Freedmen During Reconstruction in Fairfax County, December 6, 2014, Northern Virginia History Notes, accessed March 20, 2021, http://www.novahistory.org/FreedmenEducation/FreedmenEducation.htm.

583 Laurel Grove School Museum, accessed September 18, 2019, http://www.laurelgroveschool.org/.

educating African American children. The one-room "Colored School Building at Seminary" was the first public schoolhouse for African Americans living in the Fort Community. Douglass Woods became successful enough to donate the land for the Seminary School for African American students which opened in 1927. Wood donated the land and the community raised $1000 to ensure construction of the Seminary School, which was located where T.C. Williams High School now stands.[584]

LOUDOUN COUNTY

Black trustees for "the Colored people of Waterford and vicinity" bought the first land for a school for Blacks in Waterford in July 1866. Financial help from the Freedmen's Bureau and the Philadelphia Friends to the local African American population, helped them erect Waterford's Second Street School. The schoolhouse for Black children was also to be used for church purposes. In the earliest days of its existence, classes were large. In 1868, the District Superintendent's report to the Freedmen's Bureau recorded an average attendance of forty-two students out of the sixty-three enrolled. Of those, twenty-eight were sixteen or older. By the early 1870s, the school became part of the county's new public school system. Schools for white children in Waterford remained private for another decade. African Methodist services were held in Waterford until 1891, when John Wesley, a separate church, was erected. The school has survived for almost ninety-years, which is the longest tenure for any school for African Americans in the county.[585]

By March 1869 there were seven schools educating Black children in operation: near Hillsboro, at Leesburg, Lincoln, Middleburg, Waterford, Willisville, and a new school, Harmony, either at Hamilton or at nearby Brownsville. Middleburg school, the lone school unofficially named for a Loudoun African American leader, principal Oliver L. Grant replaced the Freedman's Bureau school in 1882.[586]

The first large four-room unnamed school for Blacks opened on Union Street, Leesburg in 1884. Letters were used to officially designate all Black schools until 1919; numbers were used to identify white schools. This still standing school in

584 African Americans and the Civil War—Fleeing, Fighting and Working for Freedom, Trail Sign, Alexandria Heritage Trail, City of Alexandria, accessed July 18, 2019, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/TrailSignsAfricanAmericansAndTheCivilWar.pdf; Report on Ground-penetrating Radar Surveys: Possible Cemeteries within Fort Ward Historical Park, Alexandria, Virginia October 19-20, 2009, Sarah Lowry, M.A., Alexandria Archaeology, page 1, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/SiteReportLowry2009FortWardGPR.pdf.

585 "Timeline of Important Events in African American History in Loudoun County, Virginia," The History of Loudoun County, Virginia, accessed March 21, 2021, http://www.loudoun-history.org/history/African American-chronology/.

586 Ibid.

Leesburg District, is "A." By 1886, a new Hillsboro-area school for Blacks was instituted which is extant. Also still standing in Brownsville is the Hamilton-area public school for Blacks, established in 1888. A year later, the first Round Hill public school for Blacks opened on the Woodgrove Road north of town.[587]

PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY

Liberty Street in Manassas was the site of a public school for Black children which began in 1870. The "Manassas Village Colored School," renamed the "Brown School" in 1872, honored Mary D. Brown, a Quaker woman and member of the religious group of Friends in Philadelphia that gave financial support. The Lucasville School fell under the jurisdiction of the Manassas District School Board. The Board authorized construction of the one room school which began in November 1883 and was completed in March 1885. The School once served Black students in grades one through six in the county and remained in operation until 1926. The school pushed against racism to be able to establish a school system where African American children could learn and thrive. Located at 10516 Godwin Drive, Manassas, a one-room reconstructed schoolhouse now stands to tell the story.[588] Other schools were established in Prince William County. The Cabin Branch School, also known as Clarkson school, was located on today's Mine Road and was established in 1889 to accommodate the local African American children.[589] Prince William County integrated its public schools in 1966.

WEST VIRGINIA SCHOOLS

A number of West Virginia schools were built for Jefferson County Blacks in the years between the start of Reconstruction and 1900. The Eastern Panhandle is geographically part of Maryland and Virginia. These two southern states had been largely disinterested, if not actively against, making appropriations for the education of its new Black citizens in equally as large a proportion as was provided for the education of white students.[590] Virginia anti-literacy laws had legislated against literacy for Blacks. Law breakers could expect physical punishment and financial penalties. Prior to 1860, state-sponsored education for African Americans did not exist in western Virginia. Until June 20, 1863, what was to become Jefferson County, West Virginia was the easternmost county in the Commonwealth of Virginia

587 Ibid.

588 Erin Pittman, Lucasville School: Bringing Post-Civil War African American Education to Life, Prince William Living, https://princewilliamliving.com/lucasville-school-bringing-post-civil-war-African American-education-to-life; "Celebrating 275 Years of Black Heritage in Prince William County," Prince William Library System, accessed July 15, 2019, http://www.pwcgov.org/government/dept/library/Documents/RELIC/Celebrating_275years_of_Black-Heritage.pdf.

589 African American History (1830-1936), Prince William Forest, NPS, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/African American.htm.

590 Carter G. Woodson, Early Negro Education in West Virginia, Journal of Negro History, 1922 7:1, 23-63.

and subject to its laws. Portions of Jefferson County, however, were noteworthy for the attention shown to the free public school ideal before the Civil War.[591]

Paralleling all regions and counties in the NCA, education for newly emancipated African Americans took on the highest priority. Church, school and religious associations came together with the Freedmen's Bureau to help launch education in the new state. Blacks had to overcome the anti-literacy stance inherited from Virginia and imprinted on West Virginia.

The 1863 West Virginia Constitutional Convention created a new state and education occupied a key position. Determined to build upon the successes and not repeat Virginia's mistakes, the convention directed the future legislature to " be as nearly uniform as practicable; and such schools shall be free and without charge for tuition to all children between the ages of 4 and 20 years."[592] Despite their seemingly high intentions, the Constitution makes no mention or provisions for the schooling of African American children. Following the example set at the Constitutional Convention, the new state legislature passed the state's first school law on December 10, 1863. A system of township centered instruction for six months of the year, gave voter-elected commissions the power to hire and certify teachers, construct and preserve buildings, and collect school proceeds. Unfortunately, that first school law instituted a racially segregated school system. If a township had at least thirty eligible African American children, it was required to supply racially segregated buildings and separate teachers from those mandated for white children.[593] In 1866 after the end of the Civil War, the new state established an official system for educating Blacks. The State legislature required schools for African American children in sub-districts with at least thirty eligible learners from the ages of six to twenty-one-year-olds. This system would not be heeded for more than twenty years in the Harpers Ferry Education District of Jefferson County, where reaction against Black education was negative. [594]

For several decades after the end of the war, northern missionaries associated with the American Missionary Association ran the schools for Black children in the eastern panhandle of West Virginia.[595] In the beginning, the initial schools of Shep-

591 Halltown Colored Free School, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Park Service, http://www.wvculture.org/shpo/nr/pdf/jefferson/04000912.pdf

592 "Molly A. Hunter, Esq, State Constitution Education Clause Language," Education Justice, accessed March 20, 2021, https://edlawcenter.org/assets/files/pdfs/State%20Constitution%20Education%20Clause%20Language.pdf.

593 Carter G. Woodson, Early Negro Education in West Virginia, Journal of Negro History, 1922, accessed March 20, 2021, https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdfplus/10.2307/2713579.

594 Grand View School, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Park Service, accessed March 20, 2021, http://www.wvculture.org/shpo/nr/pdf/jefferson/01000782.pdf.

595 Ibid.

herdstown, Martinsburg, Harpers Ferry, and other nearby places in West Virginia generally resulted from private efforts. When set up as public schools, little was accomplished without outside support.[596]

A school superintendent's biennial report on the state of education for West Virginia's African American population points to part of the problems African American West Virginians encountered during the early days of freedom. In 1864, Superintendent White said that the privilege of education for "colored adults" had been denied for "too long and too mercilessly." He continues, "I regret to report no schools for children of this portion of our citizens; as the law stands, I fear they will be compelled to remain in ignorance." By 1866 the Superintendent reported, "Much anxiety has been expressed by the colored people of our state in regard to education."[597] As was true across time and region, the African American community, newly released from bondage, had to assume responsibility for creating the first schools in the state for themselves.

One of the first among the schools established was in Charles Town at the home of Achilles Dixon, a free Black blacksmith living on Liberty Street where his blacksmith shop and his home were also located. Dixon and his wife Ellen made available one room of their home, to serve as a school for the Freedmen's Bureau before the county initiated its own system for supporting public school education for African American learners, sometime between 1867 and 1874. This first school, known as the Liberty Street School, stood on the corner of Samuel and Liberty Streets where the law office of Morrow and Morrow is now located.[598]

The Freedmen's Bureau operated in West Virginia between 1866 and the autumn of 1868. The Bureau's headquarters at Harpers Ferry centered most activities in Jefferson County which came under the Bureau's expanded jurisdiction in education for the newly freed men and women. While refugee problems at Harpers Ferry were the Bureau's first concern, alongside the constant civil rights viola-

596 Carter G. Woodson, "Early Negro Education in West Virginia," Journal of Negro History, 1922, https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdfplus/10.2307/2713579.

597 M. P. Shawkey, Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Free Schools of West Virginia for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1914 (Charlestown: Department of Free Schools, 1914), 31, accessed June 28, 2020, https://books.google.com/books?id=6V0dAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA31&lpg=PA31&dq=I+regret+to+report+that+there+are+not+schools+for+the+children+of+this+portion+of+our+citizens;+as+the+laws+stands+I+fear+that+they+will+be+compelled&source=bl&ots=64yZSNzm40&sig=ACfU3U3AzynrlftBTR1w9OvOIZ9W4V3OPg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwin_fywp6XqAhUoonIEHRtDCt8Q6AEwAXoECAsQAQ#v=onepage&q=I%20regret%20to%20report%20that%20there%20are%20not%20schools%20for%20the%20children%20of%20this%20portion%20of%20our%20citizens%3B%20as%20the%20laws%20stands%20I%20fear%20that%20they%20will%20be%20compelled&f=false.

598 Jefferson County Public Schools—Then & Now, Jefferson County Museum, accessed March 21, 2021, http://jeffcomuseumwv.org/virtual_exhibit/vex2/AEFCA9D6-4E5A-4E47-8B7A-854572646976.htm.

tions in Jefferson County, education of freedmen and the building of schools was also a primary focus. The Bureau entered productive alliances with West Virginia superintendent of free schools and local Black leaders, the American Missionary Association and white Free Will Baptists in the Shenandoah Valley. The Bureau was instrumental in promoting official interest in public education of African Americans and supported the building of sixteen schools. [599]

An agent of the Free Will Baptist Home Mission, white abolitionist Rev. Dr. Nathan Brackett, established a mission and school above the town of Harpers Ferry in the former Civil War Armory Paymaster's Quarters that had been donated by the US Ordnance Department. The dilapidated building was known as the Lockwood House, which Brackett was able to renovate through the generosity of Maine philanthropist, John Storer. Lockwood House in Harpers Ferry had been built in 1848 and became the site of a Freedmen's school in 1865. Elementary education for Blacks began at the mission school that year. For quite a few years, the school functioned as the lone graded school for African Americans in the State of West Virginia. Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Brackett's school opened as the forerunner to what would become Storer College, in Harpers Ferry. The school was run by the Freewill Baptist Church of Maine which provided elementary education for Blacks in the region although a school in Bolivar came into existence before the establishment of Storer.[600]

After the Freedmen's Bureau left Jefferson County around 1867, the responsibility for building schools in the district fell to the Jefferson County school districts. A second school was built for African Americans at the intersection of the Summit Point and Middleway Road. In 1874, the brick schoolhouse on Harewood Avenue (now Martin Luther King, Jr. Avenue), Charles Town District Colored Graded School, replaced Achilles Dixon's home school. Littleton L. Page, who had escaped bondage years earlier, was appointed principle and teacher in 1874.[601] The brick schoolhouse still stands next to the Zion Baptist Church on Martin Luther King, Jr. Avenue with a historical marker commemorating it as the first "Colored school" in Charles Town.[602] Other schools also remain although they have received no official recognition from the National Register.[603]

599 Ibid.

600 Storer College, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, accessed July 27, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/storer-college.htm; Woodson, "Early Negro Education in West Virginia."

601 James L. Taylor, "A History of Black Education in Jefferson County, West Virginia 1865-1966," National Conservation Training Center, 2003.

602 Taylor, "A History of Black Education in Jefferson County," 14.

603 Halltown Colored Free School/Halltown African American Schoolhouse, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, OMB no. 10024-0018, NPS, file:///C:/Users/Cheryl/Documents/Civil%20Rights-NPS/Reconstruction%202/Halltown%20WVA%20nomination%20form.pdf

The 1872 revised state constitution expressly stated that Blacks should not be taught in the same school as whites. Four years later, ten schools and eleven teachers were attending to the education of the area's African American children. The Halltown Free Colored School began during this era. By the 1890s, many schools for African Americans were reported in popular histories of Jefferson County. In 1899, the West Virginia state constitution was amended to state that the trustees in certain districts should establish one or more primary schools for African American children between the ages of six and twenty-one years, and that members of boards of education should establish such schools whenever there were at least ten Black pupils residing in their district, and for a smaller number, if it were possible to do so. This gave new impetus to the movement for more intensive education among West Virginia's Black communities.

SHEPHERDSTOWN

The oldest known school for Black students in Shepherdstown is known as "The Old School" largely because the lack of records renders it impossible to establish an exact starting date for the school. The one room structure was built around 1866 with bricks from the armory buildings in Harpers Ferry. The Old School on Brown's Alley served Black students until 1883 when Shadyside on West High Street was constructed as a replacement. The school still stands on Brown's Alley. Now the property of Asbury Methodist Church, the school is used as a private dwelling.[604]

One of the freedmen's schoolteachers wrote for the *Morning Star*, a Freewill Baptist newspaper, an account of her activities as founder of a school at Shepherdstown in February 1866. She reported seventy-five scholars under twenty-five years of age, but one learner reported his age as fifty-five years old. She had another thirty-five anxious learners in night school. It is not possible to determine to which school she was referring. After School Commissioners purchased a lot for Shady Side in 1883, a second school for Black students in Shepherdstown was established. The large frame structure, which no longer stands, was located on West High Street and operated until it was replaced in 1948. [605]

CHARLES TOWN

A large school which opened at Kearneysville in 1869 successfully taught eighty or ninety students. Built in 1870, the earliest school in Middleway (Smithfield) for Black students was situated south of the town on the road leading to Summit Point. The lot was purchased by the Charles Town Board of Education. This was

[604] "Shepherdstown District Schools 1847-1933," Shannondale and Beyond, accessed March 21, 2021, https://www.shannondale.org/community/ams/45/.

[605] James L. Taylor, "A History of Black Education in Jefferson County, West Virginia 1865-1966," National Conservation Training Center, 2003, 26.

the second school for African American students in Charles Town. Another school for Black students was built in Kearneysville in 1872 and had an enrollment of forty-five students in 1895. The location of the school, which operated until 1899, is unknown. In 1894, a lot was purchased by the Charles Town District Board of Education for a school on Eagle Avenue. The new four-room brick school building was erected on Eagle Avenue in Charles Town in 1897.[606]

The Halltown Colored Free School was built for the education of the scholars in the Black enclave of Halltown. Mr. Thomas Edwards purchased the land for the school sometime prior to 1870. As the father of a large Black family, Mr. Edwards used his own time and money to build the schoolhouse with help from local Black males. The school was built and maintained by Mr. Edwards for his family and the educational benefits of his descendants. Edwards-Shelton-Braxton family has continuously owned the property since it was first developed, in a "decidedly separate and unequal environment."[607] The school was segregated by law across the expanse of time that it operated, 1870 to late 1929. The building, now a private residence, still stands today adjacent to Halltown Union Colored Sunday School, also known as the Halltown Memorial Chapel which was built in 1901. The Sunday school stands along the Smithfield-Charles Town, Harpers Ferry Turnpike. The building, which was restored in 1983, operated as a Sunday School until 1967. In 2004, the Halltown Free Colored School was listed on the National Register of Historic Places.[608]

Myerstown Black School, located on the Myerstown-Rippon Road, was constructed in 1875 for African American learners. The school was in use until students transferred to Eagle Avenue School in Charles Town in 1936. No longer extant, the school was located one mile outside Myerstown on the Myerstown-Rippon Road.[609] In 1876, the Johnsontown Community School, a log cabin school, was built. Located between Charles Johnson's House and the Fox house, the school was situated in the small Black community of Johnstown on Brownshop-Bardane Road. In a reversal of the sequence of a church enabling a school, between 1876 and 1898 the school functioned as a community center and housed religious activities until Zion Baptist Church was erected in 1898. Neighboring

606 Woodson, "Early Negro Education in West Virginia;" "African American Schools in Charles Town, West Virginia," The Historical Marker Database, HMDB.org, accessed June 28, 2021, https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=132452.

607 Halltown Colored Free School/Halltown African American Schoolhouse, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, OMB no. 10024-0018, NPS, file:///C:/Users/Cheryl/Documents/Civil%20Rights-NPS/Reconstruction%202/Halltown%20WVA%20nomination%20form.pdf

608 Halltown Union Colored Sunday School, National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, http://www.wvculture.org/shpo/nr/pdf/jefferson/84003591.pdf

609 Jefferson County Public Schools—Then & Now, Jefferson County Museum, http://jeffcomuseumwv.org/virtual_exhibit/vex2/BA5F8C93-A36E-42EB-9E16-644311913380.htm

professors from Storer College visited Johnsontown to teach farming workshops.[610]

In 1882, the governor of West Virginia approved an act establishing the independent school district of Duffields. The Duffields School was erected for Black students in an area known as Skeetersville. The exact date for the building of the one-room log structure is unknown but is believed to be after 1895. Other West Virginia segregated schools include the Jamestown school, built in 1884 on land deeded to the Middleway District Board of Education. The school was closed in 1911 and is no longer standing. In 1891, The Mechanicstown School was constructed for the education of Black students.. Not much is known about the early school however the building still stands and is used as a farm building in Mechanicstown on Route 9 south on property owned by Lester Ott. When the school was closed in 1934, students were transferred to the Eagle Avenue school.[611]

HARPERS FERRY

John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry and African American participation in it lingered in the minds of white West Virginians. The development of Black education in the Harpers Ferry area was a difficult road in pro-secessionist Jefferson County. Because of the strong convictions and tenacity of the white missionaries who established Storer College in Harpers Ferry, that road was made easier for the fairly large local Black population.

The first school in Harpers Ferry for the education of African Americans was established by Miss Florence Mann in 1864. The independent missionary school was located at the Lockwood House, an abandoned government building on Camp Hill. By 1867, the missionary school also added a "Normal School" for teacher training. The school was endowed with $10,000 provided that amount would be matched and that students would be accepted "without distinction of race or color." The Freedmen's Bureau provided $6,000 in matching funds with the remaining funding coming from pledges from Freewill Baptist Church members. John Storer's donation had stipulated that the school should be open to all races. However, in 1872 the State of West Virginia ruled it illegal for white and

610 Jefferson County, WV, African American Heritage Trail Map, accessed July 28, 2020, http://www.jcblackhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JCBHT_2013_WebVersion.pdf; Oniadmin, "Johnsontown to celebrate 165 years of rich history," *The Journal*, August 9, 2013, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.journal-news.net/news/local-news/johnsontown-to-celebrate-165-years-of-rich-history/article_f8106537-168d-5538-9862-506ce918cfbe.html.

611 James L. Taylor, "A History of Black Education in Jefferson County, West Virginia 1865-1966," National Conservation Training Center, 2003, 39; Jefferson County Public Schools—Then & Now, Jefferson County Museum, accessed March 21, 2021, http://jeffcomuseumwv.org/virtual_exhibit/vex2/BA5F8C93-A36E-42EB-9E16-644311913380.htm.

Black students to be educated together. Therefore, Storer College admitted only Black students. [612]

It is unclear how long the elementary program continued at Storer College because by 1887 there apparently was no elementary education available for Black children in Harpers Ferry. An Oct. 8, 1887 editorial in the *Harpers Ferry Sentinel* endorsed "the petition circulating requesting the Board of Education furnish a school at Harpers Ferry for 42 'colored' children who have no school or teacher." Apparently acquiescing to their constitutional responsibility, the Harpers Ferry District Board of Education did begin constructing a school.[613]

One of the earliest schools for Black students in the Harpers Ferry District, the Bolivar Graded Black School began in a house on Ridge Street in Bolivar., initially located on Ridge Street, was a two-room school built sometime between 1887 and 1888 for Black students in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar. According to an 1888 issue of the *Spirit of Jefferson,* a new "colored" school was completed on Ridge St., adjacent to the AME Church and the "Colored" Baptist Church. The two-room school operated for almost 40 years, built prior to 1889 and used until 1930.[614] Serving as the only elementary school for Blacks in the Harpers Ferry District, it was apparently immediately successful. By 1890, the Board of Education reported "this school had become so large and unwieldy for one Teacher . . ." The board authorized an assistant teacher for two months of the 1889-1890 school year. Extra classroom space also had to be used in the basement Zion Baptist Church due to the large enrollment at the Ridge Street School.[615]

In 1892 the Board decided to build an addition on the schoolhouse, rather than build another school at Halltown. The Bolivar Graded School on Ridge Street was replaced with the Grandview School and is now a private residence. The 1907 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for the Harpers Ferry District shows the little school as a frame. One story building with a shingle roof on Ridge St., next to the AME Church and the Colored Baptist Church. The frame school operated for nearly 40 years.[616] Despite the less than cooperative Board of Education, the Grand View School and its predecessor provided the education needed for African American

612 Historic Properties of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, NPS, accessed March 21, 2021, http://www.wvculture.org/shpo/nr/pdf/jefferson/64500728.pdf.

613 Ibid.

614 James L. Taylor, A History of Black Education in Jefferson County, West Virginia 1865-1966, National Conservation Training Center, 2003, 42.

615 Grand View School, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Sec. 8, p. 2, http://www.wvculture.org/shpo/nr/pdf/jefferson/01000782.pdf; Black History, Jefferson County, WV, Past & Present, Jefferson County, accessed July 28, 2020, https://sites.google.com/site/jcwvhistory/home/black-history?tmpl=%2Fsystem%2Fapp%2Ftemplates%2Fprint%2F&showPrintDialog=1.

616 Ibid.

children to advance through the Storer College curriculum and acquire an education.[617]

MARYLAND SCHOOLS

In November 1864, Maryland's new state constitution both emancipated the 87,000 enslaved held in slavery across the state and established the first free public school system in the state. Although Maryland did establish a public school system, its system of education remained segregated and unequal. In Prince George's County, for example, a mere 148 of 9,780 African American students attended school, as compared with 1,491 of the county's 11,358 white students. A few schools for Black children were built in this era. African American schools were "sieged by discrimination, from arson of schoolhouses, to landowners' refusals to sell plots of land for the construction of the schools." The African American communities banded together to combat these multiple disadvantages and hinderances; they provided housing for teachers or school supplies.[618]

At the beginning of 1865, the Maryland General Assembly finally made it possible to establish a school a system for its new African American residents. Maryland's third state Constitution made provisions for the first "free" public school system. Each election district within the state was to establish and maintain the schools. Revenue for school construction and operating costs was to be generated by an "education tax." The Public School Instruction Act of 1865 stipulated that taxes paid by Black residents could be used to establish Black schools. However, delegates to the Constitutional Convention made no acknowledgement any responsibility to make education available to the state's Black residents. By refusing to respond to the new law, there need be no acknowledgement of sentiment toward establishing a school system for African Americans. Consequently, "no schools for Blacks would be constructed nor would the taxes paid by Black people be separated out of the general funds for that purpose."[619]

Despite the intent of the Article 8 to exclude Black learners while providing for white students, state funds were dispersed based on the number of school age children of both races living within each county. First benevolent associations and then the Freedmen's Bureau assumed responsibility for assisting in the constructing, establishing and maintaining schools in the county. The Bureau was particu-

617 Ibid., 6.

618 Clara H. Vaughn, "Historical Society offers glimpse of African Americans during Reconstruction," The Baltimore Sun, March 12, 2012, accessed March 21, 2021, https://www.baltimoresun.com/ph-ll-lhs-freedom-0315-20120312-story.html.

619 Freedom's Classroom: Reconstruction, Poplar Hill on His Lordship's Kindness, accessed June 28, 2021, https://www.poplarhillonhlk.com/aahp/education/recon.html.

larly instrumental in providing protection of the legal and civil rights of the newly freed.[620]

Although Maryland established public schools for its white citizens in 1860, it would take the state another twelve years to institute and fund segregated public schools for its African American citizens. As early as the 1870s, the state of Maryland enacted Jim Crow laws that formally segregated public schools through the Maryland General Legislation Act of 1872. The approved Legislation earmarked taxes paid by African Americans to be used for maintaining schools for Black children and that schools be established for Black children when warranted by population.[621]

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Blacks had acquired land in several county locations. At least thirteen small villages or townships were formed by the newly freed, including Jerusalem, Poolesville, and Jonesville in Montgomery County. While the communities provided sanctuary from racism, in many ways, the segregated schools they were forced to establish both constrained and bolstered the newly freed people of color as the county continued to develop.

Sharp Street School in Sandy Spring is the earliest school for African American children in the county. Education was limited and represented an ongoing struggle beginning in 1867 when twenty Rockville men pledged to fund a school and teacher to educate Black children. Over thirty schoolhouses had been erected, all waiting for teachers, many of whom ended up being white women..[622]

Not until the first decade after the Civil War did Montgomery County give any thought to the education of Black children in the public schools. By 1872, the State of Maryland included a provision that one school of free admission be opened in each election district for "all colored youth between six and twenty years of age." Montgomery County did establish a public school system for Blacks that same year. Anyone who was interested in gaining access to the funds had to apply to

620 Article VIII, Constitution of Maryland, Maryland Manual On Line, accessed July 26, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/43const/html/08art8.html; Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, 25.

621 George P. Bagby, ed., *The Annotated Code of the Public Civil Laws of Maryland, Volume 2*, Article LXXVII, Public Education, Chapter 18, "Colored Schools," (Baltimore: King Bros., Printers & Publishers, 1911), accessed March 21, 2021, https://books.google.com/books-?id=uHRCAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA1714&lpg=PA1714&dq=maryland+general+education+act+of+1872&source=bl&ots=1iiCPnOSw9&sig=ACfU3U3VOhDN5xZ1XvjnMuJrIOfK1B8_xw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiH8LiwtvDqAhW8oXIEHfJuCYw4ChDoATAIegQIChAB#v=onepage&q=colored%20schools&f=false.

622 Nina H. Clarke and Lillian B. Brown, *History of the Black Public Schools of Montgomery County, Maryland 1872-1961* (New York: Vantage Press, 1978).

the state board.[623] Few communities other than Rockville, which had a large Black population, or Sandy Spring with its reliance on Quaker assistance, were capable of constructing schoolhouses until later in the century. The School Board generally would allocate funds to acquire a lot. The patrons built the schoolhouse using anonymous local talent. This was the general procedure for building a one-room frame building. Manlove Homer was awarded a contract to erect the Spencerville schoolhouse. After 1874, few amenities were provided within the settlements.[624]

That same year, Freedmen Gary Green of Quince Orchard sold property to the county for a schoolhouse. Green, a carpenter-builder in the Darnestown-Germantown area and father of twelve, no doubt helped build the schoolhouse. "State law required that the building be used only for educating Black children. Meetings for any other purpose, particularly political, were barred," according to a recent newspaper article.[625] The 1878 Minutes of the state Board of School Commissioners stated that $50 had been set aside to acquire a lot for a colored school on the road from Neelsville to Clarksburg; the patrons were expected to build the building. Thereafter, the Board appointed local trustees who would be responsible for maintenance, operations, and persuading the Board of local need.

A state-funded school for African American pupils did not open in the county until 1876.[626] By early 1879, the African American church at Brooke Grove in Laytonsville was being used as a colored schoolhouse and later that year, James Hall obtained funds to erect a schoolhouse there. A quarter-acre lot in Scotland, east of the road from Rockville to Seven Locks, was obtained for the purpose of erecting a school. A schoolhouse was constructed in Germantown and in 1885, the petition of Benjamin Price to build a school near Comus was granted.

The Board of School commissioners granted an application from the people of Burnt Mills who were required to supply the schoolhouse. For the Martinsburg school, the monies appropriated for fuel and for a teacher paid for building a schoolhouse instead. Damascus, Poolesville, Mt. Zion, Hyattstown, Colesville and Norbeck, acquired land and built schools. The African American citizens of Bethesda asked that a school be built in the River Road area. Suitable buildings

623 Legislative Record, State of Maryland 1872, Chapter XVIII, "Schools for Colored Children" as cite in Nina H. Clarke and Lillian B. Brown, History of the Black Public Schools of Montgomery County, Maryland 1872-1961 (New York: Vantage Press, 1978), 2.

624 Lecture by Dr. George McCain, February 25, 2017, sponsored by Peerless Montgomery at the Montgomery County Public Library.

625 Brigid Schulte, "On Tours, Uncovering Forgotten Footprints," The Washington Post," December 14, 2000, accessed June 11, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2000/12/14/on-tours-uncovering-forgotten-footprints/2429bd17-4aa9-4192-ab56-430a7a6e5611/.

626 Eileen McGuckian, "Black Builders in Montgomery County 1865-1940," 193, The Montgomery County Story, Published Quarterly by The Montgomery County Historical Society.

were located at Old Seneca and Pleasant Grove. The Purdum Colored School reopened and was furnished with books and a new schoolhouse was built at Oak Hill in Cloppers in 1897. [627]

Financial viability, however, was precarious and schools could be ordered closed due to lack of funding. When funding became available, a new colored school was ordered built in Kensington in 1898. Other Blacks came forward requesting a school in Allen's Chapel in Wheaton, but the matter was set aside. All such schoolhouses built in the county were owned by the county even though "not one dollar had been contributed by county taxation for their erection, nor for the support of the colored schools. The entire cash had been defrayed from the state treasury."[628]

Adults as well as children required education. Slavery had robbed many of the adults of literacy and the children needed to learn for their own survival. Some of the early adult citizens of Emory Grove, located on the edge of Gaithersburg, traveled to Claysville to attend night school, which was held in a home. Again, funds set aside for the teacher's salary were used to build the schoolhouse. After a church was erected, school was conducted there by Basil Frazier, the first public school teacher in Emory Grove. The one-room school, located about one block from Emory Grove to Route 12, became a reality the early 1880s.[629]

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

Prince George's County heavily depended on the apprenticeship system and was reluctant to embrace education for Blacks. Upper Marlboro, the county seat and center of the tobacco industry had relied on the labor of numerous enslaved workers before the Civil War. The majority of Whites did not readily adjust to the precepts of emancipation and were hostile toward both emancipated and educated Blacks. Major George E. Henry of the Bladensburg Bureau office reported to the Freedmen's Bureau in 1867 about white's attitudes toward educating Blacks, "The objection of the education and improvement of the colored people is not as strong as it was. Still, there is much opposition manifested to their being allowed the chance of improvement in any form."[630]

As a county primarily dependent on the work of an enslaved labor force, the demand for skilled laborers in Prince George's County was often high—but demand for a literate and skilled workforce was not. The 1860 census showed a marked

627 Clarke and Brown, History of the Black Public Schools of Montgomery County.
628 Ibid., 6-7.
629 McGuckian, "Black Builders," 5.
630 "Records of the Field Offices for the States of Maryland and Delaware," United States Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872 [microfilm], accessed January 5, 2021, archive.org/details/recordsoffiemary0024unit/page/n7/mode/2up.

increase in the number of occupations available to free Blacks. Although no ministers or teachers were listed in the county, local historian Bianca Floyd indicates that Black men and women were surreptitiously providing these services in their communities.

Between 1866 and 1868, the county effectively petitioned for ten Freedmen's Bureau Schools (See Appendix C). Some schools were not constructed until 1870, however. The first Freedmen's Bureau funded school for Black children, opened in Bladensburg in 1866, and the school's African American leadership were specific in their request for a Black teacher. Over the next several years, at least six more schools, some of them affiliated with Black members of the United Methodist church and with African Methodist Episcopal congregations, opened in Upper Marlboro and neighboring towns in the southern section of the county, with assistance from the Freedmen's Bureau and the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People. With the help of the Freedmen's Bureau, ten schools were established in Prince George's County. Black schools were established as early as 1866 in Bladensburg and a few years later in what is now Clinton. The Bureau helped supply lumber, sashes and doors, windowpanes and cypress shingles as well as money for teacher salaries. Desks, chairs, stoves for heat and fuel for lighting and books were provided at government expense. Blacks, in addition to providing their own funding, provided the labor for school construction and often paid the room and board expenses for the teachers who were assigned to teach in their schools.[631]

Opposition to the education of Blacks often meant that teachers at Black schools received threats, and schoolhouses and churches were burned. Children were harassed and intimidated on their way to and from school. Furthermore, many southern planters actively used the apprenticeship system to function as another legally sanctioned attempt to re-enslave Black youth. Prince Georgians saw the availability and accessibility of schools and education for newly freed as a major challenge to their supply of labor.[632]

The first school for African Americans in Prince George's County to receive financial assistance from benevolent associations was a school already in existence at Muirkirk which had been established at the Muirkirk Iron Furnace. It was for the benefit of both Black and white families working at the iron works. New England teachers began their involvement as early as April 1866. The Freedmen's Bureau stepped in when the school began to falter as a result of dwindling resources. Years later, Abraham Hall at 7612 Old Muirkirk Road in Beltsville was built in

631 Ibid; Floyd, *Records & Recollection*, 25.
632 Floyd, *Records & Recollection*, 24.

1889 for the Benevolent Sons and Daughters of Abraham. Over the years, it also served the African American community of Rossville as a temporary schoolhouse and Methodist church.[633]

In 1866, Union Institute, the first school established by the Freedmen's Bureau specifically for African Americans in Prince George's County, was in the town on Bladensburg. Pooling community resources to cover costs, the school was operating out of a rented building. AME minister Rev. John E. Lee acted as the liaison between the town and the Bureau. Uriah Wallace, Syras Johnson, and Benjamin Moutin, along with George Gilbert, Albert Scott, and Elias Plummer in addition to Henry Vinton Plummer, all new freedmen, acted as school trustees.[634]

Prince George's Seminary became the second school established for African Americans for the small community of Valley Lane in Upper Marlboro in 1867 and completed in 1868. Immediately, the Black community organized into a "Free School Society" with the intent of raising funds to support the proposed school. The society was primarily composed of congregants of the Union Methodist Episcopal Church in Marlboro. As was true for many of the early schools, acquiring lumber and building materials was a constant challenge.[635]

In 1866, Henry Hatton first initiated efforts to establish a school for freedmen at Oxon Hill. Hatton had been freed decades before the Civil War and worked as a blacksmith. He conveyed a half-acre of land to start the school. The deed was forwarded to the Freedmen's Bureau. Lumber and shingles to build the school were in short supply but Oxon Hill Colored School No. 1, also known as Riverview, was completed later in 1867.[636]

In 1866, a fourth Freedmen's Bureau school was established in the Aquasco Election District 1 in the town of Woodville around the same time as the John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church. New freedmen and women purchased two acres for the site of the school and church. After the building was constructed, the most pressing concern for the new teacher was the acquisition of books. Later, attendance would be a problem as the older pupils left the school to work on farms. Labor demands in post-Civil War Maryland prevented many young people, of both races, from attending school full-time. A new one-room wood-frame school was constructed in 1877 and served the community for the next 57 years. [637]

633 The African American Heritage Sites Guide, Prince George's County, Maryland, accessed July 30, 2020, https://assets.simpleviewinc.com/simpleview/image/upload/v1/clients/prince-georgesmd/AAHSSites_0e8762ae-1ceb-4951-9296-75b2f4b92280.pdf.

634 Ibid.

635 Ibid; Floyd, *Records & Recollection*, 1.

636 Ibid.

637 Ibid.

An acre of land was sold to freedmen to establish Nottingham Colored School No. 1, Election District 4 in 1867. This was also the site of Brooks Meyers United Methodist Episcopal Church. George Greenleaf was the freedmen who lead the effort to establish the school, acting as the primary liaison with the Freedmen's Bureau. As with other schools, obtaining lumber and other building materials to complete the school and the quest for a suitable teacher remained a challenge. The freedman generally took responsibility for room and board for the teacher, in this case, a Black woman from Pennsylvania. A new school was built in the fall of 1877 between Croom Post Office and the Patuxent River although Black residents of Nottingham continued to use that school for educational and religious activities. This building functioned as a school until 1930.[638]

In 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau built Chapel Hill School No. 2, District 5 at the intersection of Old Fort Road and Livingston Road in the Piscataway district in what is now the Fort Washington area of southern Prince George's County. The freedmen at Broad Creek purchased the lot for the school. The following year, John Butler, a Bureau field agent, reported that the school was very large and that Mary A. Davinger, the first teacher, had fifty-seven students who regularly attended. Parents of the students contributed fifty cents tuition every month to cover the teacher's boarding fees.[639] Despite this early success, attendance suddenly dropped the following year and tuition fees could not be collected from local residents. This difficulty was typical in an area where children were needed to help their parents who sharecropped on local farms. Thus, many children could not attend school until after the harvest. Despite this challenge, the school remained open. In 1880, when the community decided it required a night school for those unable to attend during the day, residents covered all the expenses on their own. In 1921 a Rosenwald-funded addition to the Chapel Hill School was built on two acres donated by the school's patrons. This school remained in use until 1950.[640]

One acre of the old Surratt farm was designated for the establishment of a Freedmen's school. In 1868, construction on the school in Surrattsville (now Clinton) around the crossroads where now Woodyard Road becomes Piscataway Road and Old Branch Avenue becomes Brandywine Road. Surratsville was renamed Robeystown shortly after Lincoln assassination. Great controversy arose around this school because of the reluctance of former slaveholders to grant Blacks control over their own lives. Blacks became the "subscribers" who raised the money to build the Freedmen's School at Robeystown. As with other Freedmen's Schools, the lot was deeded to the Board of School Commissioners in 1878 when

638 In 1830, this became Holly Grove School; Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, 42.
639 Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, 25, 45.
640 Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, 46-47.

it was known as the Clinton Colored School No. 1, District 9 (Robeystown). A new building at the site was completed in 1929 and continued in operation until the early 1950s when the building was actioned to the Clinton American Legion Post #259.[641] Elsewhere in the county, the Laurel Colored School (School No. 2) was built in 1884 and St. Mark's United Methodist Church was constructed in the Grove in Laurel in 1890. Together these two institutions became the nucleus of the Black community of Laurel.[642]

Ezra A. Johnson, a white teacher from Philadelphia was assigned to a school in Upper Marlboro, Prince Georges County, Maryland, where he was informed "it was unsafe" for a white man to teach in a colored school. He relied on the lessons learned in Prince George's County when he moved on to teach at the Freedmen's Bureau school at Tolson's Chapel in Washington County.[643]

There were other Freedmen's Bureau Schools in the county about which there are few details. Saint Luke's Methodist Episcopal Church at the corner of Dower House Road West and Leapley Road, in Upper Marlboro, also known as Niles Chapel, was initially built as a Freedmen's School in 1868. The schoolhouse served both educational and religious needs. Church services were carried out in the schoolhouse until ca. 1877 when a separate chapel was constructed. There is little known about the Freedmen's School in Horsehead which was near Black Swamp Creek. The school was replaced by "Colored School No. 2, District 8," known locally as the Black Swamp School on E 19011 Croom Road, Brandywine. In Bladensburg, a Freedmen's Bureau school was established in an old building in the town in 1866, and a schoolhouse for local African American students was constructed the following year. In 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau, built a schoolhouse in the small community.[644]

The first meaningful opportunities for Prince George's County African American children and adults to learn came with the dismantling of the apprenticeship system around 1872.[645] Although freed from the chattel bondage, segregation would become the next obstacle to overcome. With the closing of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1872, Prince George's County Board of School Commissioners assumed re-

641 Ibid., 21, 52-7.

642 History of Laurel, Laurel Historical Society, accessed September 18, 2019, https://www.laurelhistoricalsociety.org/history-of-laurel.html.

643 Tolson's Chapel, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Park Service, Section 8, Page 11, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-1466.pdf.

644 Approved Historic Sites and Districts Plan, Prince George's County Maryland, June 2010, The Maryland-National Planning Commission, accessed July 3, 2021, https://www.mncppc.org/DocumentCenter/View/697/Approved-Historic-Sites-and-Districts-Plan-PDF?bidId=.

645 Records of Bureau of Refugees, Freedman and Abandoned Lands, RG 105, M-1056, Rolls 10, 11, and 12 as cited in Floyd, *Records & Recollection*, 24.

sponsibility for schools intended for Blacks in the county. By 1874, Black schools were miserably underfunded and the distribution of state funds for schools for African Americans was decidedly unequal.[646]

FREDERICK COUNTY

During the latter part of the 19th century, before the construction of schools supported by the state, African Americans in Frederick County were filled with an immediate aspiration for education, first for their children as well as for themselves.[647] Following a recognizable pattern, a school and a church, particularly African Methodist Episcopal (AME) and Methodist Episcopal (M. E., now United Methodist) denominations anchored many communities.[648] The basements of Quinn Chapel A. M. E. church on East Third Street and Asbury M. E. Church (Old Hill Church) on West All Saints Street were the locations of the first classes for African American learners. The records of the A. M. E. Conference in 1845 listed a Sabbath School in Quinn Chapel with two teachers and twenty-five scholars. Sabbath Schools were the forerunner to the public school system in most locations.[649] The first Black school in the county was built in Middletown in 1865 where there had been a large African American community.[650]

In western Maryland, the Freedmen's Bureau's greatest impact was evinced in its assistance in the establishment of schools. The Bureau assisted in the founding of at least eleven schools in Frederick County. The congregation of Bethel AME church and the Baltimore Association supported a Freedmen's Bureau School in Frederick City. Teacher's Monthly School Reports from the end of 1868 to mid-1869 give a snapshot of a student's educational life. During those years between thirty-three to fifty-seven learners studied arithmetic, writing, spelling, grammar and geography. A few students were advanced readers and in the higher branch of grammar.[651]

After the state school law of 1865 was passed, the county acted and three schools for African Americans were established in Burkittsville School District. Horsey's School No. 1 was built in 1868 and located approximately one mile south of

646 Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, 50.

647 "Urbana High School Student to Present Research on African American Schools in County," Frederick News-Post, C-1,2, April 28, 2010; See also, Abigail Brumbaugh, "Frederick County's Colored Schools." Journal of the Historical Society of Frederick County (Summer 2010): 4–23.

648 African American Heritage Sites in the City of Frederick and Frederick County, Maryland, accessed September 19, 2019, http://www.frederickhsc.org/pdf/hsc_aahsbro.pdf.

649 Christina Martinkosky, "Preservation Matters: Early efforts to provide opportunities for African American youth," The News-Post, February 24, 2020.

650 Downtown Frederick Self-Guided Walking Tour, African American Heritage Society, accessed September 19, 2019, http://aarchsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Walking-Tour.pdf.

651 "Crossroads of War," accessed July 30, 2020, http://www.crossroadsofwar.org/wpcontent/uploads/FrederickBethel_April1869.pdf

Burkittsville on Maryland Route 17 in the small community of Coatsville. It was closed in 1959 but still stands as a private residence on the south side of Route 17 in Coatsville. Burkittsville School No. 2, also known as the Molly Bruner School after one of its long-serving teachers, was on the Gapland-Burkittsville Road near South Mountain. It was located on Mountain Church Road and served African American children who lived along South Mountain between Burkittsville and Locust Valley. Built sometime after 1877, it operated until 1937. One of its teachers, George Whalen was educated at Storer College and returned to teach in Coatsville.[652]

In historic New Market, a Freedman's Bureau school had been located on the north side of North Alley between Strawberry Alley and Prospect Street. The school was in operation from November 1868 to May 1870. A church, which has since been demolished, also had been located on the lot, but no above-ground remains are evident. Trustees included Charles Locks, Ephraim Gathar, and Greenbery Chane, Thomas Coats, and George Dorsey.[653]

As was true across much of Maryland, not many county school boards were dedicated to the idea of providing education to African American children and adults. However, the state of Maryland required each schoolboard to create at least one school for the purpose of educating African American students in their respective districts in 1872. In Frederick two schools were provided, one on South Bentz Street and the head of West All Saints Street and the other on Seventh Street. The West Seventh Street School was located between Market and Bentz Streets.

Already-existing Black churches, such as Hopehill United Methodist Church supported education of African Americans in the county. Since churches had the infrastructure, they could quickly host classes. On the north side of Fingerboard Road near the site of Hope Hill School, the 1873 C.O. Titus Atlas of Frederick County shows a colored school, which was likely the site of the existing The Hopehill Colored Schoolhouse. Located at the southwest corner of Fingerboard Road and Hopeland Road in Buckeystown, in the vicinity of Urbana, the school was built around 1890 and was one of two known surviving nineteenth century Black rural schools in Frederick County. The property had been on the market and may be endangered or has been destroyed for future development.[654]

652 Phil Stanley, "Burkittsville: A Peek at Yesterday," 2009, 89.

653 New Market African American Cemetery, F-5-164, Maryland Historical Trust, accessed March 21, 2021, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Frederick/F-5-164.pdf.

654 C. O. Titus, Atlas of Frederick County, Maryland, Johns Hopkins Sheridan Libraries, 21, Urbana, District, https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/34119 accessed July 26, 2020; Gina Gallucci-White, Forgotten but Found: Rediscovering a Piece of African American History in Middletown, Frederick Magazine, accessed September 22, 2019, https://www.fredmag.com/forgotten-found/; Jasmine Pelaez, "Local society sheds light on historic black schools and churches," Local DMV.com, https://www.localdvm.com/news/i-270/local-

Inspection and Survey Report of Public Schools Frederick County, Maryland

NAME OF SCHOOL	SCHOOL NUMBER	LOCATION
Buckeystown Colored Schools	No. 4 and 5 (School #5 is immediately to the rear of #4)	-
Pleasant View Colored School	No. 6 and 7, near Doubs	-
West Seventh Street Colored School; Also known as Seventh Street School (Colored)	No. 15, located on the southside of 7th Street in the heart of the city of Frederick	Located between Market and Bentz Streets (now the home of Fraternal Order of the Police)
South Bentz Street School (Colored)	No. 16, west side of South Bentz at the head of West All Saints Street (now the site of Lincoln Apartments)	-
Hopeland (Colored)	No. 27	Urbana District
Ebenezer (Colored),	No. 28	Urbana District
Della (Colored)	No. 29	Urbana District, probably on the east bank of the Monocacy River
Comstock (Colored)	No. 30	-
Libertytown (Colored)	No. 53	-
New Market (Colored)	No. 35	-
Burkittsville Colored School	No. 56, New Market District & No. 67,	Burkittsville District
New Burdox (Colored)	No. 37	-
Mt. Pleasant (Colored)	No. 44	-
Sunnyside (Colored)	No. 47	-
Woodville (Colored)	-	Woodville District
Oldsfield (Colored)	No. 60	Linganore District
Horsey's (Colored)	No. 66	Burkittsville District
Brunswick (Colored)	No. 73 & 74	Town of Brunswick

Table 11. Inspection and Survey Report of Public Schools Frederick County, Maryland

By 1907, Frederick had thirty schools for educating African American youth. There were a number of colored schools for which there are few details although images do exist:[655]

society-sheds-light-on-historic-black-schools-and-churches/; Hope Hill Colored School, MHT F-7-37, accessed September 19, 2019, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Frederick/F-7-37.pdf.

655 Insurance Company of North America, Inspection and Survey Report of Public Schools Frederick County, Maryland, Helkfenstein & Urner, Agents, Frederick, Maryland, n.d..

The first high school opened in Frederick on All Saints Street in 1920. Prior to the establishment of the school, Blacks who sought higher learning beyond an elementary education were forced to leave Frederick in order to obtain an education.

WASHINGTON COUNTY

The Freedmen's Bureau was responsible for establishing seven schools in Washington County, including the Lincoln School with over one hundred students. Even though the Bureau took responsibility for the construction of schools, much of the financial burden fell to the Black community where church buildings, particularly in rural areas, doubled as schoolhouses. In November of 1866, AME minister, Rev. J. Nicholson of the Hagerstown Station, reported that "there is a fine school taught in the basement of the [Bethel] AME Church here by the Baltimore Association.[656] He also was instrumental in establishing a high school on West North Avenue in Hagerstown for children of color.[657]

In Sharpsburg, the local Black community's small log Methodist Episcopal chapel, Tolson's Chapel on East High Street, was constructed in 1866. A blackboard consisting of liquid slate painted walls speaks to the dual use of the chapel as a schoolhouse; the students were largely children of the congregants. The Tolson's chapel school was christened "American Union" school. From 1868 to 1870 a teacher was brought to the school by the Freedmen's Bureau. Ezra A. Johnson who had also taught in Prince George's County was the first teacher at Tolson's and he also opened the Sharpsburg school on April 6, 1868.[658] Johnson's 1868 "Teacher's Monthly Report" submitted to the Freedmen's Bureau Education department provided the facts and figures for the little school. Johnson taught primary and intermediate grade levels. His report indicated that the school received no support from any Educational Society, or by the local school board; it was "wholly supported by the Freedmen."[659] Where the form asked for such information, Johnson reported that the Bureau did not pay the Freedmen any rent for use of the church building as a school and that public sentiment toward the school ranged from "at first favorable," to the "majority quite unfavorable." Eighteen students were listed as the total enrollment for the month, half were male and the other half, female.

656 Rev. J. Nicholson, "Letter From Maryland," *The Christian Recorder*, November 10, 1866.

657 Alicia Notarianni, "Hagerstown observes 150th anniversary of Civil War with ceremonial observance," Herald-Mail Media, accessed July 18, 2020, https://www.heraldmailmedia.com/news/local/hagerstown-observes-th-anniversary-of-civil-war-with-ceremonial-observance/article_eda381a2-230b-11e3-8311-001a4bcf6878.html.

658 Tolson's Chapel, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Park Service, Section 8, page 3, accessed July 24, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-1466.pdf.

659 Teachers Monthly Report of American Union School, Tolson's Chapel, Sharpsburg, accessed March 22, 2020, https://tolsonschapel.org/history/context/15-april-1868-teacher-report-for-american-union-school/.

Twelve of the eighteen had been held in slavery, only six were listed as "free before the war."[660] In 1869, a new teacher John J. Carter came to the school. He reported that of the twenty-five students studying under him, "They learn very fast." A Colored School at Williamsport was also established in 1869. [661]

In 1870, Congress discontinued the Freedmen's Bureau operations and as a result, the county had to provide access to education to its African American residents. After the discontinuation of the Freedman's Bureau, the school in Tolson's Chapel remained in operation in the chapel building when the county built Colored School No. 4 in Sharpsburg in 1899. With the closing of the Bureau, county school commissions slowly began to honor their legal responsibility although unequally. The Washington County School Board appointed trustees for the Colored Schools for the first time in May 1871. Hagerstown's local newspaper, *The Herald and Torch Light*, reported for 1878 the distribution of the levied school fund by the Comptroller to the several counties amounted to $5,176.77 for white schools and a mere "$377.25 for the Colored Schools."[662] Schools at Clear Spring, Sandy Hook, Indian Springs, Beaver Creek, Hagerstown, and Sharpsburg were each overseen by three trustees, appointed for three years.[663] Colored School No. 6 in Sandy Hook in southwestern Washington County, was situated roughly twenty-five miles south of Hagerstown, on the north shore of the Potomac River between South Mountain and Maryland Heights. The Washington County 1877 Atlas shows the colored school nearly one mile downriver from Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.[664]

In response to Maryland's formal protest against the passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1873, Hagerstown school superintendent addressed a memorial to Congress to refute the overblown claim that Maryland had provided schools for the colored children. As a rebuttal, the superintendent set forth the following facts for the apportionment of school funds for the first quarter of 1874. Prince George's County with a white population of 11,358 and an African American population of 9,780, the white schools received $2,045 while the schools for African Americans were appropriated $734.12. The superintendent went on to note that the same

660 Teachers Monthly Report of American Union School, Tolson's Chapel, Sharpsburg, accessed March 22, 2020, https://tolsonschapel.org/history/context/15-april-1868-teacher-report-for-american-union-school/.

661 Ibid.

662 "The School Fund," The Herald and Torch Light, Hagerstown, MD, October 9, 1878, 2.

663 Tolson's Chapel, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Park Service, Section 8, Page 11, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-1466.pdf.

664 Lake, Griffing & Stevenson, Sandy Hook, District No. 11, An Illustrated Atlas of Washington County, Maryland, 1877, p. 56, Johns Hopkins Sheridan Libraries, accessed July 26, 2020, https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/bitstream/handle/1774.2/32766/p.56%20Sandy%20Hook.jpg?sequence=44&isAllowed=y.

inequalities throughout the whole list of counties. The total funding for all Black schools in the state for the year 1874 was $50,000.[665]

Beginning in the 1870s, the Nathan Williams family operated a schoolhouse for Nathan's own and for local African American children living on the remains of the colonial Fort Frederick property which he owned. An early African American schoolhouse sits near the Fort Frederick at the top of Johnson's Hill along the south side of Big Pool Road in Big Pool, MD. The first mention was made of this school in 1876 when Nathan Williams was named trustee. Nathan's son, Charles A. Williams, who attended Storer College in Harpers Ferry, taught fourteen Black children at the family school starting in 1896 and continued teaching until 1902. In 1893 Bettie Williams, also a child of Nathan Williams and Charles's sister, was teaching there.[666]

By 1895, it was determined that a new school building was needed. At a cost of three dollars, the Williams family deeded a parcel of their land to the county for a new school. Later, the property was sold by a member of the Williams family to the Washington County School Board for use as a school. Members of the Williams family maintained their connection to the school and taught there before it closed in 1914. The school was turned into a residence, later sold at auction and converted into a residence known as Hornbaker House. Currently, the Department of Natural Resources is working to restore this historic school for the first time in over 100 years. The intention is to restore it to its 1900 to 1914 appearance.[667]

From 1874 to 1877, David B. Simons,[668] a literate freeman from Sharpsburg, taught at the Sharpsburg Colored School. In 1874, he was recorded as the first teacher confirmed by the county for the Sharpsburg Colored School, although it is likely that Simons taught at the little school for the years between the demise of the Freedmen's Bureau and his confirmation in 1874. David B. Simons continued as the teacher at the school until 1877 when he was appointed one of the trustees and served until his death in 1908. James F. Simons, Simons' son and an active member of Tolson's Chapel congregation, was confirmed as the teacher in 1879.

665 "The School Question," The Herald and Torch Light, Hagerstown, January 28, 1874, 2; "Appropriations for Colored Schools," The Herald and Torch Light, Hagerstown, March 4, 1874, 2.

666 Black-Family-Owned-and-Occupied-Fort-Frederick-For-54-years.pdf; Fort Frederick School for the Colored, p. 22; Williams Family Tree, 25, Doleman African American Heritage Museum, accessed July 25, 2020, http://archives.dolemanblackheritagemuseum.org/documents/Fort-Frederick-Research-Files.pdf.

667 Sherry Greenfield, "Historic Fort Frederick 'Colored School' to be restored," HERALDMAILMEDIA.com, February 28, 2020, accessed July 25, 2020, https://www.heraldmailmedia.com/news/local/historic-fort-frederick-colored-school-to-be-restored/article_6b474501-7690-552c-8a3b-ae8ab0947c2f.html.

668 Also recorded as Samons.

Historian J. Thomas Scharf recorded the 1881 report for County Colored School No. 4 in Sharpsburg, with twenty-two pupils and James F. Simons as teacher. In 1899, a frame schoolhouse built by the county for Sharpsburg Colored School at a cost of $682, ended the 31 years of Tolson's Chapel's operation. James Simons continued as the Sharpsburg Colored School teacher into the twentieth century.[669]

By 1881, there were twelve schools for African Americans in Washington County; eight of the twelve appear to have been housed in Black churches.[670] In Washington County, these schools were located in Hancock, Clear Spring, Williamsport, Hagerstown, Sharpsburg, Pleasant Valley, and Sandy Hook. The four-room 'old' North Street School, on North Avenue in Hagerstown, now Robert W. Johnson Community Center, Inc., was built in 1888.[671]

By 1889, three years after *Plessy v Ferguson*, the *Hagerstown Mail* noted that African Americans in the state were seeking laws that ensured quality education whether through mixed schools or opening the academies and higher schools to Black children. As the reporter observed, "But the people are hardly ready for this social revolution."[672]

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

On August 30, 1890, the second Morrill Act was passed by the U.S. Congress, providing for a permanent annual endowment of twenty-five thousand dollars for each land grant college established under the Morrill Act of 1862. In states that maintained separate education facilities, the Act granted that a part of federal appropriations could be used for "the endowment, support and maintenance" historically Black land grant colleges. The 2nd Morrill Act of 1890 had specific effects on Jefferson County, Prince George's County and Washington, D.C. and what are now known as Historically Black Colleges and Universities or HBCUs.[673]

669 Tolson's Chapel, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Park Service, Section 8, Page 11, Section 8, Page 12, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-1466.pdf.

670 Tolson's Chapel, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Section 8, page 3-5, accessed July 24, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-1466.pdf.

671 Washington County African American Heritage Guide, WHILBR, accessed September 19, 2019, http://www.whilbr.org/itemdetail.aspx?idEntry=3338.

672 "The Color Question," The Hagerstown Mail, Hagerstown, MD, March 29, 1889.

673 MSW Program Student Handbook, Delaware State University, http://chbs.desu.edu/; John Michael Lee, Jr. and Samaad Wes Keys, Land-Grant But Unequal: State One-to-One Match Funding for 1890 Land-Grant Universities, The Office for Access & Success, Association of Public Land-Grant Universities, accessed June 28, 2021, https://www.aplu.org/library/land-grant-but-unequal-state-one-to-one-match-funding-for-1890-land-grant-universities/file.

WASHINGTON, D.C. COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Howard University

On March 2, 1867, President Andrew Johnson signed into law a charter to incorporate Howard University in Washington, D. C. which had been approved by the 39th United States Congress (1865-1867). The Historically Black College (HBCU) was established under the aid and assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau. The University began with two academic departments, four students, and one teacher. Its original charter called for Howard to educate students, regardless of race.[674] The charter approved the following departments: normal and preparatory, collegiate, theological, medicine, law, and agriculture.[675]

The coeducational private university was named for General Oliver O. Howard, a Union general and commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau who helped found the university. Gen. Howard later reflected that Howard University gave, "… intelligent youth at the nation's capital, whatever might have been their previous condition, the benefits of a complete collegiate course and of a thorough professional training." Howard served as president of the university for four years, from 1869 to 1873.[676]

The Freedmen's Hospital had been was founded in 1862 on the grounds of Camp Barker, one of the Freedmen's Villages in Washington, D.C. located at 13th and R Streets in Northwest. The first mission of the hospital was to administer medical treatment to newly freed men and women coming out of slavery during the Civil War. It was the first instance of a hospital offering such medical care. Later it would serve as the main hospital for the African American community in the District. The hospital remained in that location until 1909 when it moved to a new building at Bryant and 6th Street, NW. Freedmen's Hospital became a teaching hospital for the Howard University Medical School in 1868, six years after its founding. The hospital was managed by the U.S. government throughout much of its history.[677]

Dr. Alexander T. Augusta, highest ranking Black soldier and medical officer the Civil War, later practiced medicine in Washington D.C. and served on the faculty of Howard University Department of Medicine. He is considered the first Black

674 Christian, *Black Saga*, 219-220.

675 Sterling M. Lloyd, Jr., "A Short History," College of Medicine, Howard University, accessed January 8, 2020, https://web.archive.org/web/20210315215207/https://medicine.howard.edu/about-us/mission-vision-and-core-values/short-history.

676 "General Oliver Otis Howard House," National Park Service, accessed January 8, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/places/general-oliver-otis-howard-house.htm.

677 Michael Stolp-Smith, Freedmen's Hospital/Howard University Hospital (1862-) BlackPast, accessed January 8, 2020, https://www.blackpast.org/African American-history/freedmen-s-hospital-howard-university-hospital-1862/.

professor of medicine in the United States and taught anatomy at Howard University. Augusta was also influential in establishing the institutions that later became the hospital and medical college of the school and the National Medical Association. Established in 1895, the association continues as the nation's oldest and largest organization on behalf of African American physicians and health professionals. Paralleling Dr. Augusta's career path, many of the initial faculty members of the College of Medicine had served as physician officers in the Union Army. Between 1868 until 1908, the Medical Department operated solely as an evening school in recognition of the fact that many of their students needed to work in order to augment their income.[678]

Men and women of high political standing earned law degrees from Howard University School of Law. John Mercer Langston, the first African American from Virginia to serve in Congress, became inspector general of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1867. Immediately prior to 1868, Langston helped establish the law department at Howard University—the first Black law school in the country. After campaigning for Ulysses S. Grant in 1868, Langston received an appointment from President Grant as legal counsel to the District of Columbia Board of Health in 1871, a position which he held for seven years. When the law school was officially founded in October 1868, Langston was chosen as its first dean. He served from 1868 to 1875 and as vice president and acting president of Howard University from December 1873 to June 1875 . He resigned from the position after being refused the presidency.[679]

While he was at Howard, he attracted such luminaries as Charles Sumner and Ralph Waldo Emerson to engage with the law students. At the time, the law department was the premier department of the school. Mary Ann Shadd Cary blazed a trail as one of the first African American women to earn a law degree from Howard. Both she and Judge Robert Terrell, exerted considerable influence in the District after earning law degrees from Howard.[680]

Noted local politician Robert Davis Ruffin enrolled in Howard University for the 1869–1870 school year. Ruffin continued his studies and graduated with a normal, or teaching, certificate in 1872, rather than a law degree even though he studied in the law department. The Virginia politician and elected official was one of the ear-

678 Alexander Thomas Augusta, Major, United States Army, Arlington National Cemetery, http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/ataugust.htm; A Short History; National Medical Association, https://www.nmanet.org/page/History; College of Medicine, Howard University, accessed March 11, 2020, https://medicine.howard.edu/about-us/mission-vision-and-core-values/short-history.

679 Langston, John Mercer (1829-1897), United States House of Representatives, accessed March 22, 2021, https://history.house.gov/People/Detail/16682.

680 John Mercer Langston and Jeremiah Eames Rankin. *Freedom and Citizenship*. Washington, D.C.: R.H. Darby, 1883.

liest African American sheriffs to serve in Virginia's history. After Ruffin resettled in Washington in 1876, he resumed his practice of law.[681] In February 1880, the Alexandria, Virginia court admitted Alfred William Harris to practice law. The following year he earned his law degree from Howard University.[682] Both Ruffin and Harris had been born in slavery and were able to educate themselves to serve as effective local politicians equipped with a credible standing in the legal field earned through Howard's law school.

Howard produced other notable alumni during the Reconstruction period. Historian Jacqueline M. Moore described John F. Cook, founder of Union Seminary, as the head of "probably the most distinguished family in the District" in the 1880s. That distinction came in part because of the role two generations of the Cook family played at Howard University. Cook's oldest son, John F. Cook, Jr. served as a trustee of Howard University for thirty-five years. Cook's younger son, George W. Cook served as registrar of Howard for ten years and maintained an overall affiliation with the institution for forty years.[683]

Kelly Miller, another prominent Washingtonian, lived at 2225 Fourth Street until his death in 1939. Working his way through school as a U.S. Government clerk, Kelly Miller graduated from Howard University in 1880. Advanced mathematics was his field of study at Johns Hopkins University. Miller is considered the nation's first Black graduate student in mathematics. For a brief time, he taught mathematics at Preparatory High School for Negro Youth (later M Street High School). In 1890, the mathematician was subsequently appointed to the Howard University faculty. In 1901 he was awarded an advanced degree in math and later earned a law degree from Howard in 1903. He served the school as Professor of Sociology and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. His house was demolished in 1965 and replaced with Bethune Hall, a Howard University dormitory.[684]

Miner Normal School

The University of the District of Columbia can trace its history to Normal School for Colored Girls. Founded in Washington, D.C. in 1851, the focus and purpose of the school was to serve as an institution of learning and training for young African American women. The school temporarily closed its doors during the Civil War and was eventually reopened. Located in the square blocks bounded

681 Gottlieb, Dictionary of Virginia Biography.

682 Michael Woods. "Harris, Alfred W. (1853–1920)" Encyclopedia Virginia. Virginia Humanities, (12 February 2021). Web. 22 March 2021.

683 Jacqueline M. Moore, *Leading the Race: Transformation of the Black Elite in the Nation's Capital 1880-1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 11.

684 Kelly Miller Residence Site, African American Heritage Trail, Cultural TourismDC, accessed January 8, 2020, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/web/portal%20/kelly-miller-residence-site-African American-heritage-trail.

by 19th, 20th, N and O streets, NW, Miner Normal School served as one of the first high schools for teaching Black women. The school was the predecessor to Miner Teachers College, which was specifically intended to train teachers. In the years from 1890 to the mid-1950s, the school filled an important role in the development of the Black school system in the District of Columbia throughout that period. "Miner graduates had a virtual monopoly on teaching jobs in Black schools." Emily Edmonson, who had attempted to escape slavery years earlier on the Pearl, assisted Miss Miner in the school and it was in one of the little cabins on this place that the Edmondson family established their home after moving in from the country.[685]

The Myrtilla Miner Building stands on the campus of Howard University, situated on a hillside on the east side of Georgia Avenue between Fairmont Street and Howard Place. The building that housed the Miner Normal School in Washington, D.C. is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and merged with other local institutions to become the University of the District of Columbia.[686]

VIRGINIA

NCA counties in the state of Virginia had no institutions of higher learning for African Americans during Reconstruction. However, Prince William County did open the first high school for African Americans at the Manassas Industrial School. Jennie Dean was the pioneering woman who created the school in 1894. She invited Frederick Douglass to offer remarks at the opening ceremonies. Influential women such as Miss Emily Howland contributed funds and Dean received private donations from Andrew Carnegie, and others to finance operations. Carpentry, sewing, shoemaking, and metal-working skills were among the subjects taught to the African American teenagers who attended.

685 Miner Normal School (Miner Building, Howard University), accessed September 19, 2019, https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/386; Mary Kay Ricks, *Escape on the Pearl: The Heroic Bid for Freedom on the Underground Railroad* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007).

686 Miner Normal School, DC Historic Sites, accessed June 29, 2021, https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/386?tour=5&index=2.

Figure 14. Jennie Dean, Founder of Manassas Industrial School. Source: *The Crisis*, Vol 6, No 3, July 1913, 126, https://books.google.com/books?id=aFoEAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

WEST VIRGINIA COLLEGES

Storer College

Storer College, located on Camp Hill in Harpers Ferry, is steeped in both scenic splendor and historical significance. Lockwood House, a one-room schoolhouse built in 1848 for those once held in slavery, became the site of a Freedmen's school established in 1865. Soon thereafter, the school became Storer College in Harpers Ferry. The college came into existence when a philanthropist, John Storer, living in Sanford, Maine, approached Rev. Dr. Oren Burbank Cheney, President of Bates College. Storer offered a $10,000 gift to establish a school which would ultimately develop into a college and educate students in a southern state, without regard to color or race. Storer was interested in opening the school in any southern state but became interested in West Virginia when the US Government granted seven acres of Federal land with buildings near Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. The West Virginia State Legislature came forward with a $10,000 appropriation with the objective of educating Blacks beyond the elementary level. This insured that the institution would be devoted to the education of African Americans. Additional support came from the West Virginia Baptist Home Missionary Society. Baptist minister Nathan Brackett, who had been commissioned by the Freedmen's Bureau, the American Missionary Association as well as the Free Will Baptists to be

superintendent of freemen's education in the Shenandoah Valley, was instrumental in founding the school.[687]

The school, established by Freewill Baptists, was named for Storer and opened in October 1867 with nineteen students. There was a growing need for individuals to teach the increasing numbers of Black students. Two components comprised Storer College, a grammar school and a normal school for the training of teachers.[688] Among the programs offered were a four-year high school program; a traditional two-year elementary teacher training program; a two-year junior college program; and separate courses focusing on homemaking and agriculture. The first library contained 3,500 volumes. The thirty-acre campus included a men's boarding hall, a women's dormitory, a chapel which included recreation rooms, a printing office, and reading and music rooms. By 1870, Storer, one of the earlier institutions for higher learning for African American in the country, was administered as a Normal Academy and offered the only place for teacher-training for African Americans in the State of West Virginia.[689]

During the school year, Lockwood House served as housing for male students. In the summer months, it operated as a hotel to provide additional income for the school. By 1883, Storer Normal School moved its main campus up the hill and consisted of several buildings, including dormitories. The primary dormitory was Lincoln Hall built with $4000 in funding from the Freedmen's Bureau. The three-story frame structure contained thirty-four double rooms. It is alleged that as part of the curriculum students were trained in the hospitality services in Lincoln Hall, a practice that lasted until Brackett decided that he no longer wanted to serve Black lodgers.[690] Fourteen years after Storer's founding, Frederick Douglass, one of the college's trustees, delivered a major address on John Brown in 1881. Brown was an important topic because in 1859, he had been the leader of the Harpers Ferry Raid just miles away.

Beyond education, Storer is best known as the site of the Niagara Movement meeting of 1906. A year earlier, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois along with other prominent African American activists first formed the Niagara Movement at Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada. They held their second meeting, on the Storer College campus which brought lasting national and historical fame. African Americans found their

687 Gloria Gozdzik, A Historic Resource Story for Storer College Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, National Park Service, accessed July 28, 2020, http://npshistory.com/publications/hafe/storer.pdf.

688 "A Brief History of African Americans in West Virginia," West Virginia State Archives, http://www.wvculture.org/history/archives/blacks/blachist.html.

689 Lisa Roy, "Storer College (1867-1956)", December 18, 2013, accessed January 8, 2020, https://www.blackpast.org/African American-history/storer-college-1867-1956/.

690 Burke, Dawne Raine, PhD. An American Phoenix: A History of Storer College from Slavery to Desegregation, 1865-1955. [Pittsburgh, Greyer Printing, 2006].

footing and the power of the collective during this time period. The Niagara Movement later joined forces with the larger National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).[691] Eventually, it would be this organization that filled the political void left by a lack of congressional representation for African Americans after the Reconstruction congressmen left office. Left with no political voices, advocacy groups such as the NAACP lobbied Congress on issues vital to the Black community.

After numerous relocations John Brown's Fort was moved to the Storer College grounds in 1910. Originally, the Fort served as the fire engine house of the US Armory where John Brown and his men took refuge before the US Marines under the command of Robert E. Lee forced their surrender in October 1859. The college expanded and operated until 1955, when it was closed following the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision. One of the lasting achievements in West Virginia was the financial and political support of the formation of Storer College. The school was the first, and for more than twenty years, the only institution of higher learning for Blacks in the state.[692]

MARYLAND

Founded in 1865, Bowie State is the oldest Historically Black College (HBCU) in Maryland. The state's Black citizens had been denied admission to state-funded schools during the opening days of Reconstruction. Bowie evolved from a normal school, teaching the fundamentals of education to The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People. The Association was formed to help establish schools for the state's Black citizens since the Educational Committee for Maryland's Constitutional Convention refused to fund schools for Blacks. The Association worked with the Freedmen's Bureau and with religious institutions to help establish the school.[693]

In 1908. The Board of Education took control of the school and re-designated it as Normal School No. 3. By 1910, the state made the decision to relocate the school from Baltimore to Bowie, Prince George's County, Maryland. The state purchased a 187-acre tract formerly known as Jericho Farm. The school opened at the new location in 1911. In 1914, its name was changed to the Maryland Normal and Industrial School at Bowie and then renamed the Maryland Teachers College at Bowie in 1938. It became Bowie State College in 1963. In 1988, it officially became

691 Roy, "Storer College."

692 Stealey III, John Edmund "Freedmen's Bureau." e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia. 31 July 2012, accessed September 21, 2019, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/2068.

693 Bowie State University History, Bowie State University, accessed June 29, 2021, https://www.bowiestate.edu/about/history/.

Bowie State University and became one of the member institutions of the newly formed University System of Maryland.[694]

[694] Timeline, Bowie State University, https://bowiestate.edu/about/history/timeline.php; Bowie State University, accessed March 21, 2021, https://bowiestate.edu/about/history/.

CHAPTER EIGHT: AFRICAN AMERICAN CHURCHES

OVERVIEW

Despite having been held in slavery, Blacks heightened their already intentional and deliberate actions and their collaborative efforts once freedom came. Restrictions placed on Black religious gatherings before the Civil War tempered but did not destroy this engagement with freedom often facilitated by the Black church. Lines of separation between African American communities, churches and schools are intertwined and often difficult to determine. Black ministers crossed geographic boundaries to pastor their flock across multiple and varied locations. Understanding the pre-Reconstruction history of several of the churches in this study highlights a longer existence and engagement across time and into the present than is readily apparent when studying the churches in isolation.

Networks existed among African Americans, their churches, and outreach to the surrounding communities. Cohesive religious networks within local counties provided a space of unity and connectedness. In turn, church growth led to the creation of schools, cemeteries, benevolent societies in those new communities. Churches formed and reformed, split and merged. Many congregations of the Area's most influential churches formed before the Civil War had an overarching influence during the Reconstruction years and continue that influence today. In the face of diminishing civil and political rights as Reconstruction progressed, churches and schools, communities and civic organizations laid the foundation in the unceasing quest for the promises of freedom that emerged to bear fruit during Reconstruction.

Church histories have been complicated to trace. Churches established before the Civil War, for example, burned, merged with other churches, or changed their name. Their histories are often folded inside of and are obscured by the more recent history of the churches that emerged during Reconstruction. Several of the churches in this study draw a distinction between the length of time the congregation has been in existence and the date the church was built. As Black Virginia congregants, for example, were operating under and emerging from slavery, they often met where they could, in one another's homes and other standing structures while they amassed resources enough to purchase land and build their churches during Reconstruction. Although numerous independent and affiliated Black

churches existed before the Civil War, the establishment and growth of independent Black churches stand as seminal developments of the Reconstruction period. Such churches were highly significant both as religious and educational institutions and as centers of Black political and community mobilization in the Area. As historian Luther Jackson points out, "The separate Negro church was primarily an urban institution and not a rural one." This is true for independent Black churches in the major urban centers in the NCA but small Black rural communities, particularly in Maryland, also carved out independent religious spaces despite the legal restrictions that required oversight dependent upon religious control by white ministers.[695]

Many southern churches in the NCA pre-date Reconstruction despite the constraints imposed by state, local and religious authorities. Virginia and West Virginia Blacks launched their communities and schools primarily alongside the structure of Black churches in the nascent years of Reconstruction. Ownership of the church building and of the land upon which it stood were powerful markers of freedom and independence. In some cases, original church buildings from the period are no longer extant; in other cases, extant buildings that house Black churches predate the Civil War but had significant Reconstruction histories as well. In still other cases, buildings date to the period under study, 1862 to 1902. At times, because of splits, schisms and shifting denominational affiliations, the resulting churches that formed and developed, generally from a mother church, have been difficult to trace.

Churches at the heart of community life supported social and literary activities, educational classes, and performed a crucial role in communicating the needs and apprehensions of residents. Church representatives and ministers were the source of political leadership for the developing community. According to Portia James, "Families coming from Virginia were almost invariably Baptist." Others, preponderantly Catholics from the southern counties of Maryland did not establish independent churches. Black Baptists and Methodists predominated in Washington, D. C. and throughout the Area. Unfailingly, the minister was considered a leader in all spiritual, secular and often political matters affecting the welfare of the congregation and the community.[696] In addition to these denominations, Black Presbyterians were also active in Washington, D.C. as were Methodist Episcopalians across the Area. The largest religious organization among African Americans, the National Baptist Convention, had its origins in 1895 toward the end of Reconstruction.

695 Luther P. Jackson, "The Planting of Negro Churches." *The Journal of Negro History* 16, no. 2 (1931): 181-203. Accessed November 4, 2020. doi:10.2307/2714082.

696 James, East of the River, 39, accessed June 11, 2020, http://cdi.anacostia.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Portia-James-EOR-Article.pdf.

Though some of the jurisdictions of the NCA housed pre-Civil War African American churches, new freedom brought an explosion in the number of congregations established in every locale. With the exception of Lutherans and Episcopalians, almost every Protestant denomination was represented in the NCA , and engaged in internal struggles of emancipation. The church, clergy, and houses of worship played a significant role beyond religion. Many of the men working across political arenas were ministers as well as educators and politicians such as AME bishops H.M. Turner and J. M. Brown, to name just two.

WASHINGTON, D.C. CHURCHES

Independent African American congregations and their subsequent structures had been present in Washington shortly after the founding of the city. *Mt. Zion (United) Methodist* in Georgetown bears the honor of being the home of one of the oldest African American congregations in the city, organized in 1816. In 1823, Mt. Zion sponsored one of city's first Black schools to educate children and adults eager to learn to read and write. According to historian John Cromwell, "The white Methodists of Georgetown elbowed their Negro membership out of their meeting house, but for fourteen years, that is, until 1830, they kept no written church records except a list of this one sold to Georgia, another to Carolina, a third to Louisiana, and others to different parts."[697] It is no wonder, then, that Mt. Zion was also active in the Underground Railroad. This early history undergirded the history of the current edifice, begun during Reconstruction in 1876 and completed in 1884.

Generally, until the late 1830s many Blacks worshipped in white churches where they were restricted to a balcony or another segregated area. Protestant churches enforced separate pews and separate galleries for people of color. These rigid rules of segregation were the main drivers of a general exodus of Blacks from Protestant churches not only in cities of the border States, but also in New York, Philadelphia and Washington, D. C. Segregation, disrespect, slaveholding ministers in addition to dusty, dirty, demeaning and cramped spaces of worship in galleries or balconies and restrictions on joyful expressions during the worship service fueled the exodus.[698]

---

697 John W. Cromwell, "The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia." The Journal of Negro History 7, no. 1 (1922): 64-106, 66, accessed October 17, 2020, https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/cromwell/cromwell.html.

698 William Martain Ferguson, *Methodism in Washington, District of Columbia, Being an Account of the Rise and Early Progress of Methodism in that City*, (Baltimore: The Methodist Episcopal Book Depository, 1892), accessed October 12, 2020, https://books.google.com/books?id=0oUAAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA65&lpg=PA65&dq=and+their+leaping+suggested+the+danger+of+descent+upon+the+heads+of+those+who+were+on+the+lower+floor.&source=bl&ots=ek147sntQt&sig=ACfU3U2utpgUVROO4t3NKqZuStnTZVBrfg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjO5OmOv6_sAhUZlHIEHf0fCFQQ6AEwAHoECAgQAg#v=onepage&q=and%20their%20leaping%20suggested%20the%20danger%20of%20descent%20upon%20the%20heads%20of%20those%20who%20were%20on%20the%20lower%20floor.&f=false.

Thirty-eight members, 18 Black and 20 white, came together to organize Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church in 1814 in Washington City. The church accepted Black believers as members of its congregation from the outset. As the National Register Nomination Form points out, "shared fellowship of Foundry's black and white congregation is illustrative of one of early American Methodism's basic tenets, that of universal brotherhood" which attracted Blacks to Methodism. However, they were deprived of a say in policy matters, and generally denied group recognition or respect. They found confinement to the increasingly overcrowded gallery section a great affront. It is unclear whether or not they could receive the sacraments. Therefore, in 1836 Black members left Foundry to organize Asbury Chapel, now Asbury United Methodist Church, as a separate congregation. Asbury is considered the oldest extant Black church in Washington that stands on its original site on the southwest corner of 11th and K Streets, NW. In 2003, the church was listed on NPS's National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom.[699]

John F. Cook, who would later go on to establish The First Colored Presbyterian Church, originally established Asbury Sunday School or "Church School" as a precursor to the separation. As the Black congregants split from the main church, Henry Smothers School House at 14th and H Streets, NW became one of the first worship spaces used by the emerging congregation. Before 1864, the church was part of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist churches in the United States. As the church outgrew the Smothers Schoolhouse, members, both free and enslaved, built a frame church where they hosted independent private schools during the Civil War, and then erected a brick building in 1866 during the first phase of Reconstruction. Parts of that church were retained within the current church structure at the southwest corner of 11th Street and K Streets NW which was completed in 1916.

Prominent members of the church included Mary McLeod Bethune and Mary Church Terrell. From the earliest days of Methodism through the Civil War, Reconstruction and the Civil Rights Movement, Asbury has been well known for its community and social activism and for its missionary work. As a measure of its far-reaching and consistent influence, the church built Asbury Chapel and School in Sierra Leone in 1983.[700] Asbury is considered the oldest extant Black church

699 Asbury United Methodist Church (Washington, D.C.) records 1836-1986, Archives & Manuscripts, The New York Public Library, http://archives.nypl.org/scm/20849; Asbury United Methodist Church, National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, National Park Service, accessed October 17, 2020, https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/41e891e3-cac7-4856-a21b-6db592a9cadb; National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Listing, accessed July 4, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/undergroundrailroad/upload/2018_NTF-Listings_Web.pdf.

700 "Asbury United Methodist Church, African American Heritage Trail," Cultural Tourism DC, accessed October 17, 2020, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/asbury-united-meth-

in Washington that stands on its original site on the corner of 11th and K Streets, NW. The church is on the National Register and in 2003, the church was listed on NPS's National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom.[701]

In the District of Columbia, people of color and white congregants worshiped together in Ebenezer M.E. Church but were segregated spatially. Unable to endure the un-Christian treatment, two congregations split from the white mother church and formed two distinct church bodies whose influence continued into the Reconstruction era and beyond. The first split began in 1805 when a group of Blacks who desired an integrated church environment formed Capitol Hill's oldest African American congregation in 1827 although it remained under the control of the mother church and its white minister for some years. Because of this, the Church was known as "*Little Ebenezer*."[702]

By the early 1860s, Little Ebenezer had become an unencumbered religious body with an African American board of trustees but still under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Partly at the urging of Ebenezer's members in 1864, the Methodist church agreed to organize the Washington Annual Conference, an all-Black jurisdiction that encompassed Little Ebenezer. That same year, Ebenezer also served temporarily as D.C.'s first public school. In 1870, the church dropped "little" from its title; today the church is *Ebenezer United Methodist* Church. The Ebenezer Methodist Episcopal Church building, built in 1897, was the third church built on the site.

Historian James Cromwell also reports, however, that as early as 1820 Black members of the Ebenezer Church on Fourth Street and D Street, SE near Virginia Avenue on Capitol Hill, also left the mother church. The new congregation built a log structure in that area, near the present Odd Fellow's lodge, for their own social activities, religious gatherings and Sabbath school.[703] The congregation finally purchased the old First Presbyterian Church at the foot of Capitol Hill in 1827. Later the church was known as the *Israel Bethel Colored Methodist Episcopal* Church and also *Israel Bethel African Methodist Episcopal* Church which was an independent African American church. Multiple schools operated out of the basement of the church before the Civil War.

odist-church-African American-heritage-trail.

701 Asbury United Methodist Church (Washington, D.C.) records 1836-1986, Archives & Manuscripts, The New York Public Library, http://archives.nypl.org/scm/20849.

702 "Asbury United Methodist Church, African American Heritage Trail."

703 Caption: "Now a condominium, the former "old" Ebenezer church on 4th Street SE was the parent church of Ebenezer United Methodist Church. This building dates to 1857." "EBENEZER UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, AKA 'LITTLE EBENEZER,' TURNS 180," STREETS OF WASHINGTON, accessed October 11, 2020, http://www.streetsofwashington.com/2018/05/ebenezer-united-methodist-church-aka.html.

In July 1862, the AME church assigned one of its most influential ministers, Henry McNeal Turner, to pastor Israel AME Church, "The Little White Church Under the Hill," as it was known familiarly. Earlier that spring, Turner had attended debates about the confiscation of Confederates' property that pertained directly to slavery as well as other property relations.[704] He may have begun his important friendship with Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner while pastoring at Israel. Sumner kept the pressure on the Senate as he fought unsuccessfully to end segregation in the streetcars in the District of Columbia. His efforts were part of a multipronged attack as Black Washingtonians sought access to widening range of rights and privileges previously set aside as the domain of whites only. Black Washingtonians, insistent in their demands, forced white local and federal officials to consider and respond to their claims for citizenship and equality.

Israel Bethel hosted influential anti-slavery advocates including Owen Lovejoy, Joshua R. Giddings and Washington's own Frederick Douglass. B. F. Wade spoke there as did Thaddeus Stevens and Wendell Phillips, and most importantly, Turner's dear friend, Charles Sumner, all in preparation and anticipation of the liberty that was at hand. Under Turner's leadership, a newly printed text of the Emancipation Proclamation was read aloud from the Capitol Hill pulpit of the church on January 1, 1863, the date of its issuance. By then the church had changed its name from Israel Bethel to Israel Metropolitan Church. In addition to Turner, two other men who would eventually become AME bishops pastored the church, Daniel A. Payne and James A. Shorter.[705]

The church had stayed on Capitol Hill throughout the Civil War. The government bought the church building in 1872, therefore, Israel Metropolitan needed a new church home. That year signaled a decisive moment for the church. Israel Metropolitan and Union Bethel AME (another Black church formed out of the mother church, Ebenezer ME church) churches merged to form *Metropolitan AME* church, often referred to as the national cathedral of African Methodism. Completed in 1886, the church still stands today at 1518 M Street, NW. The Rayburn House Office Building now stands on the original site of "The Little White Church under the Hill." According to the National Trust for Historic Preservation, "Since its inception, Metropolitan AME has been a bastion of advocacy for human rights, and its congregation has been involved in this country's seminal struggles, including the fight for abolition of slavery and the civil rights movement." Frederick Douglass' funeral was held at the church in 1895. The church has stood at

704 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 90-91.

705 "LOST CAPITOL HILL: 'THE LITTLE WHITE CHURCH UNDER THE HILL,'"Thehillishome.com, https://thehillishome.com/2010/05/lost-capitol-hill-the-little-white-church-under-the-hill/; Church History, Israel Metropolitan Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, accessed October 11, 2020, https://www.israelcme.org/history.

"the forefront of the civic, cultural, and intellectual life of African Americans." Alongside Mother Bethel in Philadelphia, the church endures as one of the most renowned AME churches in the nation, probably in the world.[706]

The original congregation of the *Israel Metropolitan CME* continued at 7th and Randolph Streets NW in Petworth. The original Israel Bethel church had been one of the first free and independent African American churches in the nation's capital since Little Ebenezer, one of the earliest African American congregations in the District, remained under white control for a number of years, as was generally the case for all Black congregations of the Methodist Episcopal church.[707]

According to Willard Gatewood, by the end of the 1830s the withdrawal of Blacks from segregated congregations, "frequently at the urging of whites," had become a common occurrence. Black Baptists, for example, withdrew from white congregations at First Baptist Church in the city and formed the First Negro Baptist Church of Washington. Soon, all the Black members of the First Baptist Church joined with the members of the First Negro Baptist church at 19th and I Streets. *Nineteenth Street Baptist* Church formed in 1839 followed in the steps of Black Methodists, who had separated from the white mother church the previous year when they established the independent Union Bethel AME church. Members of the congregation at Nineteenth Street Baptist included Jennie Deane, the founder of the Manassas Industrial School, in Virginia, and Nannie H. Burroughs, creator and advocate of the National Training School for Women and Girls in Lincoln Heights in the District.[708]

In 1833, the independent AME Zion denomination organized its first church in South Washington, which then was known as the Island. This church, too, was first part of Ebenezer M. E. church, the mother church for several African American Methodist Episcopal churches. Blacks withdrew from Ebenezer because its white pastor was a slaveholder. The new church was founded as the Metropolitan Wesley African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, on D Street, SE Washington, D. C. Here, too, a public school for training Black youth operated out of the basement of the church.[709]

---

706 Ibid; 11 Most Endangered Historic Places, Metropolitan AME Church, National Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed November 17, 2020, https://savingplaces.org/places/metropolitan-ame-church#.X7Q7U2hKhPY.

707 "Now a condominium, the former "old" Ebenezer church on 4th Street SE was the parent church of Ebenezer United Methodist Church; Ibid.

708 Cromwell, "The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia"; Willard B. Gatewood, "John Francis Cook, Antebellum Black Presbyterian." American Presbyterians 67, no. 3 (1989): 221-29, accessed October 11, 2020, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23330899.

709 Ibid.

Other Black churches with independent Black ministers were in evidence in Washington, D. C. and continued their importance and influence into Reconstruction. John F. Cook, Sr., who organized the sabbath school at Asbury, exemplifies the intertwining of different denominations, and preacher, church, and school. Cook, Sr. was one of the original members who split from Ebenezer M.E. church to form Israel Bethel. In 1834, he took over and became schoolmaster of Union Seminary (formerly the Smothers School and Columbia Institute) located on H Street near 14th Street, NW. Cook established a church there and served as its first pastor. Union Seminary was the largest school for Blacks in the city.

A year later, after the first church was burned by a white mob during the Snow Riots, the educator and pastor left for safety with William Whipper in Columbia, PA. Cook returned to rebuild his church and establish the First Colored Presbyterian Church in 1841. Cook had also co-founded Union Bethel AME church in 1838 but in 1841 Cook became a licentiate of the Presbytery. That year, Blacks seeking to separate from the white Presbyterian Church gathered under Cook's leadership at Union Seminary and petitioned the Presbytery for a church of their own. The Presbytery of the District of Columbia formally received the First Colored Presbyterian Church in May 1842. After his ordination by the regional synod, Cook became the first ordained Black Presbyterian pastor in the District of Columbia and the first pastor of the First Colored Presbyterian Church. [710]

Initially, the forty communicants worshiped in Cook's Union Seminary schoolhouse, at H and 14th Streets. Later, the church was renamed the *Fifteenth Street Presbyterian* Church. Fifteenth Street between I and K Streets, NW was the location of the first church building erected in 1853, where McPherson Square now stands. In addition to the school and church founded by Cook, it was largely through his efforts in 1846, that the Harmony Cemetery was established for prominent Black Washingtonians. As with so many other activists of the time, church founder Cook was always working toward racial justice and worked toward the creation of the NAACP.[711]

During the Civil War, abolitionist and anti-slavery activist Sojourner Truth held fundraisers for the church's Colored Soldiers' Aid Society. To commemorate the first anniversary of the DC Emancipation Act noted seamstress, memoirist and educator Elizabeth Keckley coordinated church members in an emancipation celebration in April 1863.[712] From 1864 until 1866, Rev. Henry Highland Garnet

710 Gatewood, "John Francis Cook."
711 Ibid.
712 Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, African American Heritage Trail, Cultural Tourism, DC, accessed September 27, 2020, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/fifteenth-street-presbyterian-church-African American-heritage-trail.

was another in a long line of distinguished ministers to serve as pastor of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church. On February 12, 1865, Garnet was invited to speak in the House Chamber before the House of Representatives. The Presbyterian minister was the first Black person to deliver a message in the nation's capital when Congress passed the 13th Amendment officially ending slavery in the United States. Garnet was accompanied by the choir from his Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church. From the late 1820s to the time of Garnet's sermon, African Americans had been banned from both congressional chambers.[713] Beginning in 1877, noted minister, Rev. Francis J. Grimke (1850-1937), ministered to the church as its pastor for more than a half century. Grimke continued the activist stance and what one author called "the tradition of public-spiritedness" first established by Cook and used the pulpit to advocate for civil rights.[714]

Standing alongside the grandeur and fame of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church were churches that served local communities. The enormous influx of new freedmen into the District of Columbia during this period, led to the establishment of new African American churches, schools and institutions which were among the first acts of self-determination undertaken by the newly freed. These spaces, particularly the churches, were often the first solution for newcomers in their quest to reconnect with family and friends separated by war.

Examples of such churches include the *First Baptist* Church in Georgetown, organized by the formerly enslaved Rev. Sandy Alexander in 1862, and the *Vermont Avenue Baptist* Church, originally established as the Fifth Baptist Church, formed by the Rev. John H. Brooks in 1866. Private homes sustained fledgling congregations in their earliest years. Brooks, a blacksmith and shoemaker by training and Union army driver, first conducted religious services in private homes before establishing a church home in a small wooden structure in the meager area near Rock Creek known as "Hell's Bottom." Under Brook's ministry, the name purportedly became "Heaven's Isles."[715]

Allen Chapel is known as the earliest African American church east of the Anacostia River. For at least a decade before the onset of the Civil War, Allen Chapel had met the needs of free Blacks in the community of "Good Hope," the earliest settlement in the Anacostia area of Washington, D.C. Organized in 1850, the church

713 "The First African American to Speak in the House Chamber, February 12, 1865," History, Art and Archives, The United States House of Representatives, accessed September 27, 2020, https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1851-1900/The-first-African American-to-speak-in-the-House-Chamber/.

714 Gatewood, "John Francis Cook," 225.

715 David Kathan, Amy Rispin and L. Paige Whitley, "The Forgotten African American Cemetery of River Road," April 3, 2017, 17, accessed October 10, 2020, https://mcatlas.org/filetransfer/HistoricPreservation/Cemeteries/327_River-Road-Moses_Bethesda/research/final2forgotten_african_american_community_of_river_road.pdf.

was an outgrowth of Israel AME church. The small African American community developed in the vicinity of Good Hope Village, now Garfield, near what is today the junction of Good Hope and Naylor Roads.[716]

At the beginning of Reconstruction, Allen Chapel became the point of focus central to the activities for its expanding congregation of newly freed men and women. Many were able to buy small plots of land and found a home around Good Hope Hill. The popularity of the Barry Farm Freedmen's settlement, later renamed Hillsdale during Reconstruction, stimulated the expansion of the church. After Emancipation, Allen Chapel maintained its position at the center of this rapidly developing Black community. Allen AME Church, as it is now known, remains the oldest Black church in Hillsdale. The first wooden structure built in 1860 burned shortly after it was completed; a brick building was built shortly thereafter.[717]

Allen Chapel grew to the extent that a group separated from the congregation in 1867 to establish *Mount Zion AME* Church on Mount Zion Hill, near what is now Douglass Junior High School at Stanton and Douglass Roads, SE. A few decades later the church moved to Sumner Road and Nichols Avenue, a more advantageous location, which is today's Martin Luther King, Jr. Avenue. In 1874, the church was renamed, *Campbell AME* in honor of Bishop Jabez Campbell. Frederick Douglass attended the ceremony for the 1890 dedication of the new building. The church moved to its current site on property donated by a church member, after the building burned a few years later. The present building at 2498 Alabama Avenue, SE was completed in 1938.[718]

In June 1862 in the middle of the Civil War, a siege against the city of Fredericksburg, Virginia. Forced between three and four hundred members of the Shiloh Baptist Church of Fredericksburg to depart the city. Seeking the protection of the Union Army, church members sought out Washington as a place of refuge, greatly increasing the influx of Black Baptists in the area. Their immediate quest was for a place of worship to attend to their spiritual needs and to start a Sabbath School that consisted primarily of adults. In September 1863, *Shiloh Baptist* Church of Washington had its beginnings in an old brick house on K Street, between 26th and 27th Streets, in Georgetown (now West Washington). Five years later, Shiloh relocated to and continuously occupied the site at L Street, between 16th and 17th Streets between 1868 and 1924 when it moved to its present location at 9th

716 Allen Chapel AME Church 162nd Anniversary Journal, September 12, 2012, accessed October 15, 2020, https://issuu.com/kingdomgraphicdesign/docs/ac_sj_2012.

717 Ibid.

718 "A Brief History of Campbell Chapel AME, Campbell Chapel AME Church, accessed October 13, 2020, http://campbellame.org/index.php/history/.

and P Streets, NW.[719] Fredericksburg, VA was the source of another Washington, D. C. Baptist church. Another group from Fredericksburg organized *Zion Baptist* Church in 1864. The first church edifice was dedicated in 1871. The church congregation has continued for more than 155 years; the current church building is located at 4850 Blagden Avenue, NW.

Churches such as *Rehoboth Baptist*, the venerable Congress Heights institution, now east of the Anacostia River in Congress Heights, are representative of community building in Reconstruction Black Washington. Faith and churches informed the history, family, and community. Rehoboth started as a Sunday school in Southwest in the immediate moments of Reconstruction and operated from donated barracks until the congregation amassed capital enough to build a permanent structure. For more than a century, the church flourished in Southwest Washington near 1324 1st Street. A massive urban renewal experiment subsumed that neighborhood during the 1950s and 60s, which led to the eviction of many of Rehoboth's church members. In 1969, the church left its "first new" church building built in 1898, and followed its members' move across the Anacostia River to Congress Heights at 621 Alabama Avenue, SE.[720]

Interconnected churches and denominations thrived in other parts of the District as well. As the former site of Fort Reno was subdivided for sale at the start of Reconstruction, Tenleytown, then known as Reno City, grew. As its mixed population expanded, the District's Black houses of worship instituted missions or sister churches for the flourishing Tenleytown community. These most recent churches included *Rock Creek Baptist* Church, established in 1872 by the *Vermont Avenue Baptist* Church; *St. George's Episcopal Church*, established 1899 by *St. Alban's Episcopal* Church; and *Mt. Asbury* which eventually became *St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal* Church established in 1888. The creation a cemetery in the 1880s, the Jesse Reno Colored School in 1903, and Moses Hall soon followed the founding of these churches.[721]

VIRGINIA CHURCHES

The Black church was an ideal launch site for advocating civil rights and fostering relationships with secular groups aligned with its ideals. In the decades before the Civil War, Virginia law placed restrictions on the religious expression of African Americans. Both free people of color and enslaved workers were forbidden

719 Cromwell, "The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia"; Our History, Shiloh Baptist Church Washington, D.C., accessed October 17, 2020, https://shilohbaptist.org/about-us/our-history/.

720 "Rehoboth Baptist Church Documents its 150 Year History," June 1, 2015, HumanitiesDC, accessed October 15, 2020, https://humanitiesdc.org/news/rehoboth-baptist-church-documents-its-150-year-history/.

721 Kathan, et al., *The Forgotten African American Community of River Road*.

to hold religious meetings during the day or evening. Public whipping was the punishment for anyone held in slavery who attended religious meetings without the consent of the slaveholder. If religious instruction was granted, it only could be given during daytime hours by a licensed white clergyman. These restrictions, coupled with Virginia's previously discussed anti-literacy laws, made Black churches clandestine sites of learning and empowerment. Although there were separate Black churches within both Baptist and Methodist Episcopal denominations in pre-Civil War Virginia, full religious expression among African American Virginians emerged from this form of legal suppression at the outset of Reconstruction.[722]

Close to 80 percent of African Americans were members of a church in reconstructed Virginia; most identified as Baptist. Often the original church served as "the mother" or sponsoring church that led to the establishment of other congregations. Unlike Black Methodist congregations, local Black Baptist churches operated independently, with no bishops, superintendents or general rules governing them. Baptist churches could be easily established, unencumbered by a central authority.

These African American churches and their members were willing to protest against racist Virginia policies such as white's reluctance to extend the vote to African Americans after the state reentered the Union. In August 1865, several Black ministers, for example, drawing delegates from twenty-two largely urban districts throughout the state, organized the Convention of the Colored People of Virginia in Alexandria. In speech after speech, leaders demanded equal rights with white citizens, including the right of suffrage. The convention's logic for equality cited Blacks' commitment to the nation's most important republican beliefs—freedom and equality. Virginia's African Americans had "prayed [for] . . . this day when we can breathe the free air of an American citizen and worship the God of our fathers under our own vine and fig tree." The Convention's final declaration of rights issued a call for the "immediate repeal of all laws operating against us as a separate class of people."[723] Black churches with northern connections combined with their political activism made members targets for violence. Brutality, and murdered missionaries and freed people, along with burned churches, gave evidence to the ferocity of white Virginians' resistance and anger.[724]

722 Acts of Assembly, 1831-32, 20-21; June Purcell Guild, LL.M, Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes From Earliest Times to the Present (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1936), HathiTrust, accessed October 27, 2020, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015058018006&view=1up&seq=9.

723 LIBERTY, AND EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW. Proceedings of the Convention of the Colored People of Virginia., held in the city of Alexandria, Aug. 2, 3, 4, 5, 1865, 263, accessed September 28, 2020, https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/272.

724 William E. Montgomery, "African American Churches in Virginia, 1865-1900," Encyclopedia of Virginia, Virginia Humanities, accessed October 27, 2020, https://www.encyclopedia-

In the nineteenth century, the areas known today as Seminary Road, Quaker Lane, Braddock Road, and parts of King Street were situated in two counties, Fairfax and Arlington. A great portion of the African Americans residing in those communities had been there during the Civil War and spent time attending church. By 1868 during the early years of Reconstruction, several churches and denominations served the African American communities in Alexandria including the AME church and five Baptist churches. Black churches were at the forefront of a movement for the right of suffrage. Urging the men in their congregations to vote, churches organized the greater part of voter registration drives. Members of Black churches understood the power inherent in suffrage, education and land acquisition as essential components to assuring freedom and racial equality. With 90 percent of those once held in slavery unable to read or write, the freed people understood education as the pathway to sustaining and sustainable labor, to the acquisition of property, and to full entry into American society. The Black church in combination with the Freedmen's Bureau proved indispensable in promoting this much-needed education in those early years.[725]

ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

Alfred Street Baptist Church congregation dates its formation to 1803, "with the earlier meetings held in the homes of its members, or along the banks of the Potomac River."[726] It is also one of the oldest congregations in the Washington area. As early as 1818, the church has been linked with its current location, however, it is believed the congregation is much older. The church was known as African Baptist Church and also as First Colored Baptist Church.

Three years after establishing the Alexandria Baptist Society, the African American members introduced the Colored Baptist Society which would go on to become *First African Baptist Church of Alexandria, Virginia*. African American members of the First Baptist Church started *Alfred Street Baptist* Church in "the Bottoms," Alexandria's oldest African American neighborhood. The Colored Baptist Society of Alexandria came together with the Alexandria Baptist Society. Members of the Colored Baptist Society rented meeting space at 313 South Alfred Street. At the time Alexandria was a part of Washington, D. C. By 1820, the church had formed an educator branch; its library was one of the first open to African Americans. In the early 1830s, the Church initiated a Sabbath School for both children and

virginia.org/African_American_Churches_in_Virginia_1865-1900.

725 "We Built Our Own Place: Oakland Baptist Church," Zebra, Good News in Alexandria, VA, accessed October 19, 2020, https://thezebra.org/2020/02/09/we-built-our-own-place-oakland-baptist-church/#:~:text=Alexandria%2C%20VA%20%E2%80%93%20Back%20in%20the,two%20counties%2C%20Fairfax%20and%20Arlington.

726 "Alfred Street Baptist Church," Alexandria Sites on the National Register of Historic Places, accessed October 18, 2020, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=29750#AlfredStreetBaptistChurch.

adults.[727] In September 1842, after renting the Alfred Street site for 18 years, the congregation was able to purchase the property.

After Alexandria was retroceded to Virginia in 1847, Alfred Street Baptist continued to run its school in a state that had legislated against literacy and under stringent laws that controlled the gatherings of its Black population. By 1850, the congregation formally had removed itself from Alexandria Baptist. Their 1855 brick church represents one of the two oldest extant church structures in the City that is associated with either free or enslaved African Americans. With the exception of the period when the church was used as a hospital during the Civil War, "the building has been in continuous use for religious purposes since 1855 and the site since 1818." This large, dynamic historic congregation was active throughout the Reconstruction era and remains a major religious, cultural and educational center in the life of the City.[728] The "old church," a structure built around the original church still stands at the original site at 313 Alfred Street. In 1981, a new church at 301 South Alfred Street was built adjacent to the older structure.[729]

Black Methodists in Alexandria and the neighboring areas were members of the white Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church prior to 1830, although they were relegated to worshipping in the side galleries. The growing number of Black members led to a separation and the establishment of their own congregation. By 1830, the Black Methodists had formed their own Church which was initially named *Davis Chapel* (now *Roberts Memorial United Methodist*) in honor of their white Minister. The present site of the church at 606 South Washington Street was purchased in 1833 and the brick building was completed in 1834. Davis Chapel represents the oldest African American church building in the city and was located between two Black neighborhoods, the "Bottoms" and "Hayti. It is "the only church on the block of one of the most prominent streets in Alexandria."[730]

Davis Chapel, which attracted members not only from throughout the city but also from as far as Maryland, was one of only two Black churches operating in Alexandria between 1834 and 1846. Davis Chapel members organized a Sabbath

727 Oldest Alexandria African American Church, accessed September 28, 2020, https://theotheralexandria.com/oldest-alexandria-African American-baptist-church/; Alfred Street, History, https://www.alfredstreet.org/about-us/church-history/; Out of the Attic: Tracing the rise of Alfred Street Baptist Church, Alexandria Times, November 26, 2014, accessed October 12, 2020, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/attic/2014/Attic20141126AlfredStBaptist.pdf.

728 "Alfred Street Baptist Church," Alexandria Sites on the National Register of Historic Places, accessed October 18, 2020, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=29750#AlfredStreetBaptistChurch.

729 Ibid.

730 Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church, Alexandria Sites on the National Register of Historic Places, accessed November 17, 2020, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=29750.

school and a secular school, both of which met at the church until Alexandria retroceded to Virginia in 1847. Virginia law prohibited Blacks from attending school, prevented more than five Blacks from meeting in a group of any kind, and imposed a 10 p.m. curfew. Although it is not Alexandria's earliest African American congregation, it is the city's oldest African American church structure and was the location of one of the earliest existing schools in the city.[731]

The Church provided a safe haven for free and enslaved Blacks during a period of increasing racial tension in the predominantly white Methodist Episcopal church. That discord would erupt in 1844, leading the slave holding Methodist congregations in the south to split with the mother church over slavery. By changing the name of the church, church members signaled their unwillingness to tolerate the racial restrictions and the national denomination's failure to oppose or speak out against slavery. Reverend Davis's agreement with the Southern Methodist Church's support of slavery led to a schism that caused the congregation at Davis Chapel to change the name of the church to Roberts Chapel in 1845, "in honor of deceased Bishop Robert Richford Roberts, a white circuit preacher at Trinity Methodist in the 1810s remembered for his moving sermons."[732]

The viability of the church continued into the Reconstruction years. The school reopened as Roberts Chapel, and in 1864 the church organized the first conference for African Americans in the Methodist church. The church served the community through the Reconstruction era as Roberts Memorial led Alexandria's Black community, hosting speakers of renown such as Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and many other influential leaders of the Black community. For nearly two centuries, the cultural, political, and intellectual contributions of Roberts Chapel and its members have resonated across the greater Washington, D.C. area.

The building was modified in 1894 in the Gothic style. Through the merger of congregations in 1968, the Methodist Episcopal church united its various factions, bringing an end to segregation in the mother Church. At that time, Roberts Chapel was renamed Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church. The Alexandria church was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1995.[733]

731 Ibid.; Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, accessed October 20, 2020, https://web.archive.org/web/20130813143134/; http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/registers/Cities/Alexandria/100-5015-0006_RobertsMemorialUnitedMethodistChurch_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf.

732 Ibid.

733 Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church, https://theotheralexandria.com/roberts-memorial-united-methodist-church/; "Historical Significance," Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church / Davis Chapel, accessed October 19, 2020, http://places.afrovirginia.org/items/show/366.

Before the war, there had been two Black churches in Alexandria, one First Baptist and the other an African Methodist Episcopal church. At the time, they did not have their own pastors because Virginia required that African American pastors could only officiate in the presence of white ministers or other authorized persons. Even under such circumstances, the Black pastors were not allowed to enter the pulpit. After the War when African American ministers could lead their churches, Rev. B. F. Madden among them pastored First Baptist.

African Americans escaping slavery found refuge in Alexandria after Union troops occupied the city in 1861. *Beulah Baptist* Church, also known as Second Baptist, was the original church organized in Alexandria under Federal occupation. The church was officially founded in 1863 by freed slaves specifically to provide educational services for African Americans. After 1846, Alexandria adhered to Virginia's anti-literacy laws for African Americans, making educational opportunities before the Civil War erratic and an immediate priority in the dawning days of Reconstruction. However, the church had suffered as the federal government confiscated land in the rebellious states including their new church and property. Church pastor Clem Robinson was forced to repurchase the land as a strategy to get the property back. Beulah Baptist is among a trilogy of the oldest churches in the region and one of the first churches founded in Alexandria led and operated by African Americans. The Beulah Baptist Church at 320 South Washington Street in Alexandria continues to be a vital African American congregation that lives on through its religious and education mission.[734]

Rev. Robinson, alongside Rev. G. W. Parker also pastored the Third Baptist Church in the Petersburg section of Alexandria. As time evolved and the church expanded, they were able to purchase a Methodist church building left vacant by the many white owners who had aligned with the Confederacy. Up until this time, Harriet Jacob's schoolhouse had served as both a school and as a place for religious meetings. Just as the congregation was preparing to move into the church building, the Jacob's schoolhouse was destroyed by a violent storm. The church housed a flourishing Sabbath School, "Which developed into one of the most interesting and effective educational institutions in Alexandria. The name of Petersburg was later changed to Grantville in honor of General Grant taking command of the Union Army. The contrabands also reported that because freedman Peter Grant had founded their community, they were "killing two birds with one stone."[735]

734 Ibid.

735 U.S. Bureau of Education, Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools: in the District of Columbia, 290-91.

Fourth Baptist or Shiloh Baptist in Alexandria was organized circa 1863 at "Newtown," L'Ouverture Hospital, the military hospital for African American Civil War soldiers. The hospital had been located in the yard of the infamous Price & Birch slave prison. Rev. Leland Warring pastored the Fourth Baptist. He had also been a teacher during the war. Yet another church, Zion Baptist, was located near the railroad tunnel. All of these churches housed a "flourishing Sabbath School, in which old and young unite in learning to read and in the study of the Bible."[736]

FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA

Between 1860 and 1900, African Americans organized twenty-four churches in Fairfax County. Of these, twenty-one were Baptist churches and the remaining three were Methodist Episcopal. There were no independent African American denominations such as AME or AME Zion in Fairfax County during this period.[737] The earliest churches include *Bethlehem Baptist* Church organized by Samuel K. Taylor in 1863 in the midst of the Civil War. Taylor had escaped slavery to the Gum Springs community near Mt. Vernon in Alexandria earlier that year. The original church structure built in 1865 also served as a school and as a House of Worship. The church at 7836 Fordson Road, Gum Springs represents the early religious activities in post war Virginia during the Reconstruction years and remains a vital part of the Gum Springs religious community today which is the oldest African American Community in Fairfax County, established in 1833. West Ford, who had once been enslaved and then freed by George Washington, founded the community. At the time, Virginia law prohibited African Americans from congregating for worship or religious gatherings without the permission of local white representatives.[738] Many of the Fairfax churches closely reflected this history, often beginning in the home of the minister or a congregant. In April 1884, the cornerstone was set for Bethlehem's second church building, that would supersede the first structure. By 1890, Pastor Taylor plus five other men of Bethlehem formed the Joint Stock Club, which was influential in the development of the Gum Springs community. [739]

Several churches emerged during the earliest days of emancipation. Cyrus Carter had an overarching religious impact as the major influencer behind the founding of four Baptist churches in Fairfax County. Between 1866 and 1891, Carter

736 Ibid., 291.

737 "African American Landowners, Churches, Schools and Businesses, Fairfax County Virginia (1860-1900) Second Edition: A Historical Sketch of African American Participation in the Development of Fairfax County in the Mid to Late Nineteenth Century," The Laurel Grove School Association.

738 Nicholas May, "Holy Rebellion: Religious Assembly Laws in Antebellum South Carolina and Virginia." *The American Journal of Legal History* 49, no. 3 (2007): 237-56; African American Landowners, Churches, Schools Business, Fairfax County Virginia (1860-1900) Second Edition.

739 "The History of Bethlehem Baptist Church," 156th Anniversary, Bethlehem Baptist Church, accessed October 27, 2020, https://www.bethlehemofalexandria.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/4th-Sunday-October-27-2019-Church-Anniversary-Bulletin-PERM.pdf.

organized four Baptist churches where he also served as pastor. The *First Baptist* Church of Chesterbrook of McLean, Fairfax County's oldest Black church, was originally known as the *First Baptist of Fairfax County*. A monument on the church grounds at the grave of the Rev. Cyrus Franklin Carter pays tribute to the prolific founder. Carter also organized the *Mount Salvation Baptist* Church of Arlington, and the *First Baptist Church of Vienna*. In 1873, seven members also under Rev. Carter's leadership organized the Fourth Baptist Church of Fairfax County, now known as *Shiloh Baptist* Church in McClean. Services were held in the Odrick's Public School. By 1887, the congregation laid the cornerstone of their new church, which was dedicated in 1891, the year Carter died. The church burned in 1926 and a new building was erected at 1331 Spring Hill Road in 1929.[740]

LOUDOUN COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Between 1864 and 1900, Loudoun County citizens organized thirty African American churches. Of the churches included in the Architectural Resources survey of Loudoun County, sixteen had been erected during this thirty-six-year period, most of which sit on random-rubble stone foundations. Three others were entirely constructed of stone. Eleven belonged to the national Methodist Episcopal Church. The remaining churches were independent Baptist, African Methodist Episcopal, or Colored Methodist Episcopal congregations. Quickly, the churches became the anchor of African American society in the county by serving as civic, spiritual, and community outlets and providing support, aid, and education for community members. Through mergers, name changes and shifts in location, the congregations and churches have maintained a sense of history and pride in their historical roots.[741]

Leesburg's *Mt. Zion Methodist Episcopal* (now United Methodist) Church represents the oldest continuing African American congregation in Loudoun County and possibly in the state of Virginia. Until 1789, African Americans attended the services as unclassified members of the Old Stone church, established in 1766. Separate membership rolls and seating were the norm. Following the familiar pattern for Methodist churches in the Area, the congregation split with the white church over slavery and the Southern Methodists left use, if not ownership, of the Old Stone Church to the Black congregants. In 1867, two years after freedom came, Black members purchased the land at 12 North Street, NE and built on

740 "Our Story," Shiloh Baptist Church, https://www.shilohbcva.net/our-story accessed October 27, 2020; African American Landowners, Churches, Schools Business, Fairfax County Virginia (1860-1900) Second Edition.

741 Loudoun County African American Historic Architectural Resources Survey, Loudoun County Board of Supervisors &The Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library Leesburg, VA, 2004, 39, accessed November 18, 2020, https://www.loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/6978/Loudoun-County-African American-Architectural-Res?bidId=.

the site where *Mt. Zion United Methodist* Church stands today.[742] The church was the first of churches organized during the early days of Reconstruction by African Americans in Leesburg. Pastor Reverend William L. Robey ministered to the church. The second Freedmen's Bureau School in Leesburg was started in his home at the corner of Church and North streets in 1866. Robey also served as the school's teacher.[743]

There were two *Mt. Pleasant Baptist* Churches organized in Loudoun County during Reconstruction. The earlier of the pair was formed in the early 1870s by local African Americans living in proximity to present-day Bowmantown. Itinerant ministers and other local religious leaders presided over the congregation's religious gatherings. In 1875, Thomas Edmonds organized the *Mount Pleasant Baptist* Church named because of the beautiful view of Bull Run Valley. The first church building, constructed around the time the congregation was founded, served as a school until a separate building was constructed in 1891. It again doubled as a school between 1898 and 1909 after the schoolhouse burned. Although the church structure is still standing on New Mountain Road, it is no longer in use as a church. [744] The other Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church was organized in 1880, by Reverend Charles Hadley with the help of approximately a dozen residents in the Lucketts area in north-central Loudoun County. An addition to the church was later constructed in 1915.[745]

Before 1868, Lovettsville residents and neighbors also organized *Antioch Methodist Episcopal* Church. For many years it served as the local African American schoolhouse. In 1868, the church trustees acquired a lot at the northwestern section of the town where Broad Way intersected with the Berlin Turnpike. It was later known as the African Chapel. As with the majority of these early communities, church and school are inseparable. The building doubled as a chapel and as a school building serving the community's African American youth and adults. There is a circa-1880 building standing at the site today may have replaced an earlier structure. A cemetery with marked graves that date to 1890 also survives.[746]

In western Loudoun County in particular, stone was a popular building material. Its ready availability in the county afforded work for many local stonemasons. The stone chapel, *Grace Methodist Episcopal* Church established in 1872 in Lincoln, is

742 History of Mt. Zion Methodist Church, accessed November 3, 2020, https://mtzionunitedmethodistchurchleesburg.org/history/.

743 Betty L. Morefield, "William Obediah Robey" in *Essence of a People II: African Americans Who Made Their Lives Anew in Loudoun County, Virginia, and Beyond* (Leesburg: Thomas Balch Library, 2002).

744 *The History of Loudoun County, VA*, accessed November 27, 2020, https://www.loudounhistory.org/African American-communities/.

745 Ibid.

746 Loudoun County African American Historic Architectural Resources Survey.

a representative example of a late-19th century stone chapel in the county. The Church first came to life in the former Lincoln Colored School on Cooksville Road. Part of the school was started by the Society of Friends for African Americans in 1865 at the dawn of Reconstruction. Rev. Henry Carroll led the congregation for the first twelve years as they met in the schoolhouse. In 1884, Freedmen and Quakers began building a small fieldstone church in the historic Quaker village of Lincoln. The church building was dedicated in 1885 and was served by circuit rider Rev. John Bean whose circuit included Middleburg, Leesburg, Lincoln, and other community churches. The church was abandoned in 1950 and is in the process of being restored.[747]

So many of the NCA Methodist churches were named for Francis Asbury (1745-1816), the first Methodist Episcopal bishop consecrated in the United States. Blacks worshipped at *Asbury Methodist* near Hillsboro which is the oldest standing church building in Middleburg and one of the county's two oldest independent African American congregations. There is some indication that Blacks may have been worshipping in a separate church as early as 1862 but definitely by 1864 when white Methodists donated the church and transferred it to the African American Methodist Episcopal congregation in 1864. This stands as Middleburg's first Black church. Free African Americans and their newly freed brethren in the Hillsboro area began meeting at the site of the current Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church toward the end of the Civil War. When the first schoolhouse for Black students was erected near this site in the early 1870s, church members had been meeting in a one-room log building. Around 1887, the congregation purchased land and laid the church cornerstone for the substantial yet modest stone church. The church was built during a period of considerable development for Loudoun County's African American communities. Asbury continued to serve the Hillsboro area's Black community nearly a century until sometime after 1962. Although in need of repair, the church building is "one of the best preserved of Loudoun's independent Black churches."[748]

The former *Mount Olive Methodist Episcopal* Church in Gleedsville represents a well-preserved late-19th century African American church. Gleedsville derived its name from John Gleed, one of the founding members of the church and of the community that surrounds it. Free African Americans had settled in this area before the Civil War. Early in 1889, the congregation had amassed enough resources to purchase a half-acre lot and build their church. Portions of the original church building survive. In the mid-1980s, the Mount Olive congregation which had been

747 History and Status of Grace Church, Lincoln Community League, accessed November 27, 2020, http://www.lincolncommunityleague.org/grace-church.html.

748 Ibid.

active for nearly a century, merged with Mt. Zion United Methodist in Leesburg. The church is now the *Unitarian Universalist Church of Loudoun*.[749]

PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY, VIRGINIA

For more than a century since The Settlement's establishment in the 1870s in Prince William County, Virginia, the *Mount Pleasant Baptist* Church has been meeting spiritual and social needs of its members and as well locals as the center of community life. Although there have been several iterations of the church due to fires,[750] the congregation at Mount Pleasant Baptist Church of Gainesville was started in 1877 by a group of local African Americans and families. The Settlement originally began as a racially diverse rural community.[751]

When Mary Bates realized the need for a local church for the families who lived in Batestown, she convinced her husband John to donate land for the building of a church. The 1901 deed donated the property for the full use of the New School Baptist Church. Two years later the church was completed under the name, *Little Union Baptist* Church. The church stood on what is now Joplin Road near the main entrance to Quantico Marine Corps Base. The federal government confiscated the land that made up the two communities of Hickory Ridge and Batestown through eminent domain during World War II.[752]

WEST VIRGINIA CHURCHES

The presence of pre-Civil War Black churches occurred despite the formative years of West Virginia's religious history. Blacks in the state were subject to the laws of Virginia and control of white churches and ministers. Under Virginia law, Blacks could not form separate churches and were required to sit in the back or in the galleries of white churches for worship service. White churches in the state were organized as early as the 1740s and Blacks were permitted to participate from segregated spaces. Zion Episcopal, organized in 1815, relegated Blacks to the gallery although an absence of records makes historical analysis of local Black churches difficult. A Black Baptist Church was meeting in Shepherdstown before the Civil War, but the original log church was destroyed by fire during the War.

Members of *Asbury Methodist* Church also in Shepherdstown believe the origin of their church dates to 1859. This belief is largely supported by Trinity Church's

749 Loudoun County African American Historic Architectural Resources Survey.

750 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, (DHR #076-6010), accessed March 20, 2021, https://www.facebook.com/VADHR/posts/under-consideration-for-listing-on-the-state-and-federal-registers-at-the-dhr-qu/1820972798040669/.

751 Mount Pleasant Baptist Church and Cemetery, accessed March 20, 2021, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/076-6009_MountPleasantBaptistChurch_2020_NRHP_FINAL.pdf.

752 Kari Pugh, "Stolen Land: Life After the Civil War," February 15, 2005, WUSA9.com, accessed July 5, 2020, http://www.wusa9.com/news/news_article.aspx?storyid=37158.

minute books.[753] The forebearers of Asbury were the Black Episcopalians of St. Andrew's who were presided over by a white minister, Rev. Charles W. Andrews. "White and black Episcopalians worshiped in the old church — whites in the morning, Blacks in the afternoon."[754] When the white members of Trinity Episcopal Church built their new church building, the congregants arranged for the Black members to use their old stone church building. The dictates of slavery meant that congregants could not acquire the property. Consequently, the deed to the church building had to be held by the white congregation of Trinity Episcopal Church.

With freedom, the congregation became African Methodist Episcopal in 1864. In mid-December 1867, Asbury's trustees bought the building at Church and High Streets from Trinity Episcopal Church. This was the same structure that the enslaved congregation of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church had purchased and where they held worship services. The church, now the Asbury United Methodist congregation, left their old building in 1988 and the growing and dynamic church expanded their new church building at 4257 Kearneysville Pike in 2013.

The legacy of the independent Black church in West Virginia beginning with emancipation is the more recent history. A total of sixteen African American churches representing Baptists, AME, Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal (later United Methodist) denominations were established in Jefferson County. No AME Zion churches are represented in the study period. Three of the Black Baptist churches, *Curtis Memorial*, *St. John*, and *Wainwright* were organized between 1867 and 1868. The first Black Methodist Church in Charles Town was organized in 1867 when thirty-three people came together to form the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Paralleling the formation of separate churches across the region, Black congregants founded local Black congregations that were under the authority of white ministers such as *St. Philip's Episcopal* Church in the African American community of Charles Town in 1867.[755]

The Baptist denomination was prominent in West Virginia. *Mount Zion Free Will Baptist* Church, also known as the Johnsontown church first organized in 1848. Initially, the church called itself the Johnstown Community Church but changed its name to signal its connections with the Free Will Baptist Home Mission As-

753 Evelyn M. E. Taylor, "In Harm's Way: African Americans in Jefferson County, Virginia, 1859, in *John Brown Mysteries: Allies for Freedom* (Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1999).

754 Richard F. Belisle, "Asbury UMC addition is 'work that God has commissioned us to do'" Mar 10, 2013 Updated Sep 6, 2013, HERALD-MAIL MEDIA, HERALDMAILMEDIA.COM, accessed November 8, 2020, https://www.heraldmailmedia.com/news/tri_state/asbury-umc-addition-is-work-that-god-has-commissioned-us/article_44619ef4-b577-5787-962a-7df127f684ca.html.

755 Taylor, "In Harm's Way."

sociation.[756] The church was started by Reverend Jerry Myers Johnson I, the son of George and Betsy Johnson, who founded the community in what would become West Virginia in 1848. This first pastor had connections to Storer College and graduated from there in 1883. Johnson led the church as part of the Brackett-Morrell Baptist Association, which was comprised of nineteen Christian Living Communities (CLC) in Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland.[757] The church lot, located one-half mile north of Wiltshire Road on the west side of Johnstown Road where that road connects with Hite Road, was purchased in 1892 toward the end of the period of this study. Six years later, the church was built and remains standing at 20 Johnsontown Road, Kearneysville.[758]

Following the pattern of some African Americans churches in the Area, *The Zion Baptist* Church, located in the historic downtown district of Charles Town, was first organized by those who had once been enslaved. The converts initially attended white churches that would receive Black members but their longing for greater religious freedom soon surfaced. Believing that they could serve the Lord better "under their own vine and fig tree" and encouraged by Rev. T.B. Shepherd, the white minister of the First Baptist Church, they decided to organize apart from their white brethren. After first holding meetings in homes, the congregation finally received permission to meet in the public schoolhouse, which continued for several years. Mr. William Hill purchased property in the "Potato Hill" section of Charles Town and subsequently deeded the land to build the church. This property was near the schoolhouse. Due to lack of funds, building the church took several years to complete but was finally achieved in 1884. Since the First Baptist Church already existed, the newly organized church was named *The Second Baptist* Church, which is the name that appears on the cornerstone of the old church that burned in 1918.

The Curtis Freewill Baptist Church served the religious needs of students of Storer College and of the African American residents of Harpers Ferry and Bolivar nearby. Constructed between 1889 and 1896, the church stood a short distance from the main gates to Storer College, across Fillmore Street. Curtis Freewill Baptist struggled to find money, members, and ministers. "The brick church was named for Silas Curtis, a prominent member of the Freewill Baptist denomination in New England whose family donated money in his memory to complete of the build-

[756] "Johnstown Homecoming Festival Scheduled for August 14," Spirit of Jefferson Farmer's Advocate, Charlestown, August 10, 2011, accessed November 3, 2020, http://sjf.stparchive.com/Archive/SJF/SJF08092011p018.php.

[757] Ibid.

[758] Landmark Nomination Report, Jefferson County Historic Landmarks Commission, Mount Zion Freewill Baptist Church/Johnstown Church, accessed November 3, 2020, http://jeffersoncountyhlc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Johnsontown_JCHLC_County_Nomination.pdf.

ing." The church became the school's primary religious gathering place, taking the place of the chapel in Anthony Hall.[759]

The intact building is presently owned by the National Park Service (NPS) and conveys its past as a religious building. Curtis Freewill Baptist Church symbolizes the important education and religious contributions of Baptist theology for the of African American students at Storer College. The influence of the Freewill church spread across the country from its formative roots in rural New England. The denomination was active in opening schools for minority students such as Storer. The schools were often controlled by trustee boards composed primarily of white New Englanders who maintained financial control. Worship services were held at Storer College for more than twenty years, "first in Lockwood House, and after 1869, in the college chapel in Anthony Hall. The present Chapel was dedicated on May 27, 1896 and continued to provide a place for worship to Storer College students and faculty until 1955 when the college closed."[760]

The first African American church in the Rippon community, the *Old School Baptist* Church stands near the New School Baptist Church, known today as the *Sylvannah Praise*, *Worship and Healing Center*. The Rippon Community Cemetery, with gravesites dating to the 1800s, was flanked by the two churches. The cemetery is now on private property. This historic site is west of the Sylvannah Center, just off Rt. 340, the main artery between Rippon and Charles Town.[761]

At the very end of the study period in 1901, *Halltown Memorial Chapel*, also known as the *Halltown Union Colored Sunday School*, was erected to serve the needs of the Halltown religious community. The gothic revival style chapel began as a Sunday school and served as a Baptist church. Indicating the historic use of the land for the African American community, the Sunday School building stood adjacent to the old "colored free school," along the Smithfield-Charles Town, Harpers Ferry Turnpike. Workers and artisans from the Black community not only labored after working hours to complete a day's work but also devoted their off days to constructing the chapel. Weddings, funerals, and many social and community events in addition to church services, were conducted at the little stone chapel. The building, now a private residence, still stands today adjacent to the Halltown Colored Free School, built in 1870 for the education of the learners in the Black enclave of Halltown. The school was segregated by law across the

759 Curtis Freewill Baptist Church, Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County, Historic American Building Survey, Library of Congress, accessed November 9, 2020, https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/wv/wv0300/wv0373/data/wv0373data.pdf.

760 Ibid.

761 Jefferson County West Virginia African American Heritage Trail, Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society, accessed November 9, 2020, http://www.jcblackhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JCBHT_2013_WebVersion.pdf.

expanse of time that it operated, 1870 to late 1929. The Halltown Free Colored School was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2004.[762]

For more than sixty years the Halltown Union Colored Sunday School was the focal point in the lives of the Jefferson County Black community. The building, which was restored in 1983, operated as a Sunday School until 1967 when it closed, though the chapel continued to be used for occasional weddings and funerals. In 1982, the community instituted the Halltown Memorial Chapel Association and totally restored the building during 1982-83. The future life of this highly significant building to the Black community is stable."[763]

Many of the West Virginia congregations were formed inside white churches before the Civil War and before West Virginia was granted statehood. Before they emerged from slavery, African American congregations began to build their own church structures although most remained under the control of white ministers. With freedom came separate churches and the freedom to control one's own religious fate. Because congregations often form years before a church edifice was built and are not always tied to one building, religious history in West Virginia and across the NCA during the Reconstruction period had its genesis decades earlier in the galleries and side isles of white churches. With statehood came a flourishing of religious expression for the new freedmen and women as historic congregations began building of their own churches. From inception to present day, several of these churches have maintained their viability across the centuries by continuing to serve their congregations.

MARYLAND CHURCHES

Blacks in Maryland overwhelmingly preferred Methodist denominations. Independent churches were established as early as 1822 in Frederick. That city and Hagerstown were two of the main preaching stations of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church that remained a viable force throughout the Reconstruction years. One or two African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) churches were established in Montgomery County. Blacks also turned away from the segregated white Methodist Episcopal church to form separate churches although they remained under the control of white ministers. The greatest number of churches in the Maryland NCA counties, more than thirty, were affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal denomination.

762 Halltown Union Colored Sunday School, National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/285471a1-ba2c-4a5d-86cd-d11862a04479; Halltown Colored Free School/Halltown African American Schoolhouse, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, accessed October 5, 2020, http://www.wvculture.org/shpo/nr/pdf/jefferson/04000912.pdf.

763 Ibid.

One of the difficulties, particular to but not unique in Maryland, is that until 1965 the Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church were segregated by race. The churches were often shown on maps as a Colored M.E. Church. The same holds true for the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. Of the three denominations, the "colored" Methodist Episcopal churches came together with the main denomination to form the United Methodist Episcopal denomination while the AME and the AMEZ churches remained separate. Therefore, the naming of the United Methodist churches obscures the racialized origins of the churches covered during this study period. The report contains the original name followed by the more recent United Methodist name.

Unlike other states in the NCA , Black Baptist churches did not attract a large following in Maryland, but the denomination is adequately represented. St. Paul Baptist was one of the few Baptist churches established in Prince George's County as were Zion Baptist Church in Hagerstown and Mount Moriah in Pleasant Valley in Washington County and First Colored Baptist in Frederick County. Blacks were members of six Baptist churches in Montgomery County which contained the highest number of churches representing the Baptist denomination.[764]

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

As Prince George's County inched toward Reconstruction, its pro-Union, anti-emancipation stance was reflected in its policies toward African Americans and their religious expression. During the early nineteenth century, African Americans in the county were part of the white-controlled Methodist congregation that worshipped at a church on the western edge of town or part of the Roman Catholic church that worshipped on the eastern edge of town. Maryland's long-standing association with the Catholic Church is reflected in the presence of an African American Catholic church in Mitchelville.

With freedom and greater autonomy, Blacks were in a position to establish communities and own land, an acre of which they most generously donated to their church. Blacks' long affiliation with the Methodist Episcopal church continued as Black congregations came together to build Methodist churches. Independent African American denominations such as AME and AME Zion were not present in the county before the Civil War and the AME Zion denomination was not represented during the years covered by this study.

The Baptist denomination was also represented in the first years of Reconstruction when Sarah Miranda Plummer founded *St. Paul's Baptist* Church on Rivers-

764 Nina Honemond Clarke, *History of the Nineteenth-Century Black Churches in Maryland and Washington, D.C.* (Silver Spring: Bartleby Press, 1983, 1987).

dale Plantation. After having been sold to slave traders at Alexandria's notorious Slave Pen of Price, Birch, & Co. on Duke Street, Plummer's family and friends gathered to celebrate her return. Plummer requested a prayer meeting to commemorate her homecoming. The church, which dated that day October 19, 1866, was started in the family home of Adam and Emily Plummer on the former Riversdale plantation of Charles B. Calvert. The burgeoning congregation met there for three years. In 1869 the worshippers moved to a log building and by 1874, they had grown large enough to purchase a Presbyterian Church built in the early nineteenth century at 4107 47th Street in Bladensburg and took the name St. Paul's Baptist. St. Paul's Baptist is thought to be the oldest Black congregation in the county. The building burned in 1908 and was restored.

The church is one of five buildings built before the 20th century that survives in the county today. The original congregation used the building for a century before moving to first to 1608 Arcadia Street in Boulevard Heights and to its new location in Capitol Heights in 1973 when the *Free Hope Baptist* congregation first took over the St. Paul Church building. Currently, *Kingdom Missionary Baptist* church now worships at the original site of the church, which is a Christian congregation located at 6419 Marlboro Pike in District Heights.[765]

In the early years of Reconstruction, the Washington Conference of the Methodist church sanctioned the establishment of a church and cemetery for the use of the local African American community in Upper Marlboro. Churches in Prince George's County often stood on land donated or purchased by members of the congregation. Shortly after acquiring the land in 1865, the congregation built *Union Chapel*, a Methodist meeting house. Paralleling the majority of churches in the Area, Union Chapel was also active in the movement for African American education. In Reconstruction's earliest years, a triumvirate emerged among newly freed and historically free African Americans, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, combined with the Freedmen's Bureau to establish and build churches and schools. Union Chapel was used to host classes during construction of the Freedman's Bureau School in 1868. A small African American community in Upper Marlboro north of the Western Branch grew around the church and school. The church building was torn down and replaced in 1916 by *Union Memorial Methodist Episcopal* Church on Old Marlboro Pike. The church cemetery on

[765] Adam Francis Plummer, Smithsonian Anacostia Community Museum, https://anacostia.si.edu/exhibits/Plummer/Plummer_Essays.htm, accessed November 11, 2020; Ryan Teague Beckwith, "The Remarkable History of a Bladensburg Church," The Hyattsville Wire, September 10, 2018; St. Paul's Baptist Church, Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form, https://www.hyattsvillewire.com/2018/09/10/bladensburg-historic-church/; Accessed November 29, 2020, http://www.heritage.umd.edu/CHRSWeb/ATHA/Port%20Towns%20Resource%20Files/NR%20NOMINATIONS/PG-69-06_St.%20Paul%27s%20Baptist%20Church%20(Free%20Hope%20Baptist%20Church).pdf.

Valley Lane is the only remaining physical evidence of the first African American church established in 1865 in Upper Marlboro in a community tradition that survived for a century and a half.[766]

The Muirkirk community was also the site of a pre-Civil War church and cemetery. Congregants purchased three tenths of an acre of land for the purpose of building a place of worship and a school for people of color. By 1868, the ironworkers from Muirkirk Furnace established a Methodist meetinghouse, *Queen's Chapel*. The cemetery had been utilized for enslaved workers and free Blacks in the Muirkirk community, then known as Rossville. The community of Rossville grew and developed around the Chapel.[767] Homes often housed the first congregations then later a log structure was often erected as was the case with Queen's Chapel. The original small log chapel was established in Beltsville in 1868. These Methodist churches and congregations were connected as part of a circuit. In 1893 the church became part of the Laurel Methodist Charge of the Bladensburg Circuit of the Potomac District of the Methodist Episcopal church. Between 1893 and 1895 Queen's Chapel was joined with St. Mark's, a mission in Laurel and with Bacon's Chapel now known as Mt. Zion, which was added to the circuit by 1895. The charges and circuits formed a wider united spiritual community that often shared the same minister.[768]

The African American community of Rossville came together to establish other organizations of support such as Rebecca Lodge 6, Benevolent Sons and Daughters of Abraham. The benevolent fraternal organization supported members in times of need, through emergencies and illness and has always been closely associated with Queen's Chapel Methodist Church. Establishment of such institutions was considered the "county's most visible symbol of the growth during the Reconstruction period."[769]

766 Town of Upper Marlboro Residential Area, PG: 79-115, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, accessed November 30, 2020, https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/b6a1a225-2486-4d8e-af00-f36b36d63bdb.

767 Queen's Chapel and Burial Ground, Maryland Historical Trust, Determination of Eligibility Form, accessed November 30, 2020, http://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/Documentations/62-023-21/62-023-21.pdf; Queens Chapel United Methodist Church, Our History, http://www.queenschapelumc.org/history.html; Thomas Matthews House, Maryland Historical Trust Maryland Inventory of Historical Properties Form, accessed November 11, 2020, http://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/Documentations/62-023-17/PG%2062-023-17%20Thomas%20Matthews%20House%20MIHP.pdf.

768 Queen's Chapel and Burial Ground, Maryland Historical Trust, Determination of Eligibility Form, accessed November 30, 2020, http://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/Documentations/62-023-21/62-023-21.pdf.

769 African American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland, Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, 53, accessed November 30, 2020, https://issuu.com/mncppc/docs/aapgc.

Fire ravaged many of the original historical structures in this study. In the 1890s, the chapel was struck by lightning and destroyed by fire. After destruction of the church, religious services as well as school classes were held in Abraham Hall for many years.[770] The church was replaced by a new chapel in 1901 which served the community for more than a half century before it was replaced in 1953. The cemetery of Queen's Chapel United Methodist Church stands on the site of the original chapel.[771]

St Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, now St. Paul's United Methodist Church at 6634 St. Barnabas Road, in Oxon Hill is among the oldest of the Black congregations in Prince George's County. In 1867, the congregation acquired land and by 1888 had built a Methodist meetinghouse. They may have been affiliated with an even earlier group of freed Blacks who had built their own meetinghouse in the Oxon Hill area in the late 1700s and may have been the first African American congregation formed in the county. In 1915, a new sanctuary was constructed and later enlarged following the destruction of the original building in the 1920s. St. Paul's has made the transition from a struggling rural congregation at the outset of Reconstruction to an urban middle-class congregation of the twenty-first century, although the building retains little of its historic appearance.

Land acquisition and ownership were among the fruits of freedom that released the suppressed longing for full spiritual expression. During the Reconstruction years, newly freed men and women came together with free-born Blacks to slowly populate the Grove, the historic African American section of Laurel, settled amidst a large grove of oak trees. Some of the freedmen had been enslaved at Montpelier Mansion by the descendants of Richard Snowden, one of Laurel's earliest settlers. For a brief period before a group of Black Methodists acquired the means to purchase a lot for their church, the congregation began worshipping in private homes. Grove residents Frank and Sarah Carter understood the need for a church in the community and opened their home at 628 Church St. (now Eighth Street) for religious services in 1890. Those first twenty-eight parishioners were the nucleus of *St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal* Church. When the congregation rapidly exceeded the capacity of the Carters' home, James Hebron along with two Black Methodists provided an enclosed dance pavilion on the corner of Church Street and Talbott Avenue. This structure served as the church until 1891. They

770 Chapter 3, Communities, accessed October 10, 2020, http://mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/PDFs/254/Chapter%203%20-%20Communities.pdf.

771 "A Firm Foundation; Queen's Chapel United Methodist Church 1868 ~ 2010," http://www.queenschapelumc.org/history.html; Tony Glaros and T. K. Glaros, "Queens Chapel United Methodist fills new South Laurel sanctuary with spirituality," The Baltimore Sun, July 18, 2012, accessed October 7, 2020, https://www.baltimoresun.com/ph-ll-queens-chapel-0621-20120618-story.html; Queen's Chapel and Burial Ground, Maryland Historical Trust, Determination of Eligibility Form, accessed November 30, 2020, http://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/Documentations/62-023-21/62-023-21.pdf.

had been holding worship services in the plain church building referred to as Hebron Hall before the move. The church stood across the street from the recently constructed Laurel Colored School and the two structures were at the heart of the Grove community. Hebron Hall became known as St. Mark's which was later renamed *St. Mark's United Methodist* Church. The current structure was erected in 1921. Maryland Historical Trust observes that since its beginning, St. Mark's has been the nucleus of the long-standing Black community in Laurel. Many of the early members worked at Laurel Mills or Muirkirk Furnace. The congregation purchased the lot that is the site of the present church on Eighth Street. St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church filed for incorporation at the end of the century, in 1898. According to church historian Sandra Johnson, St. Mark's quickly became "a spiritual, educational, political, and social center" for the Grove residents.[772]

Over the decades the church has been moved, renovated and the congregation built a new building in 1923. Johnson depicted the church as "a place of self-expression, an arena where Blacks were in control, and the one place they truly considered their own." For decades, Blacks were confined to live in the Grove. From its official founding in 1890 until 1965, St. Mark's belonged the Washington Annual Conference, an all-Black jurisdiction within the Methodist Church. In 1960, "the Maryland State Road Commission built Route 198 through part of the church's land" but spared the church itself. St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church now St. Mark's United Methodist Church stands as one of Laurel's oldest churches. For 130 years, the church has met the spiritual needs of the community.[773]

Ridgely Methodist Episcopal Church and Cemetery was the spiritual center and the social hub of the rural African American farming community of Ridgley, in the area now known as Landover. Lewis Ridgely and others acquired land as the site of a Methodist church. The original Ridgely Church was founded in 1871 and later constructed in the late 1870s on land deeded to Lewis Ridgely and two other African American trustees. The church was named in honor of Lewis Ridgely and includes a small cemetery adjacent to the building with simply carved stones. The first church burned to the ground in 1921 and was replaced. The original congregation continues to own the church that was moved to a different location within the church property and continues in use as a church. The church is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.[774]

772 "St. Mark's United Methodist Church of Laurel MD," http://stmarkslmd.org/our-history/ accessed October 7, 2020; Kevin Leonard, "St. Mark's, 'The Church on the Corner,' celebrates 125th anniversary," Laurel Leader, October 15, 2015, accessed October 7, 2020, https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/laurel/ph-ll-st-marks-1015-20151015-story.html.

773 The Grove Community - Laurel, MD - Civil Rights Memorials on Waymarking.com, https://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMZWV7_The_Grove_Community_Laurel_MD; Ibid.

774 AAHS, p. 120; Maryland's National Register Properties, https://mht.maryland.gov/nr/

Although the independent AME church had no pre-Civil War presence in Prince George's County, congregants founded *Union Bethel AME* church in 1868, shortly after freedom came. Although it is unclear when the church was constructed, services were being held by 1890 and the structure was expanded in 1906. The original church burned to the ground in 1948 and was replaced by its current building in 1955. Union Bethel is "the only remaining African Methodist Episcopal Church in southern Prince George's County." In the 1960s, Union Bethel at 6810 Floral Park Road in Brandywine absorbed congregations from *Mount Hope AME* on Allentown Road in Camp Springs and *Metropolitan AME* on Piscataway Road in Clinton after those early churches were demolished." The present structure dates to 1963.[775]

The *Mt. Nebo African Methodist Episcopal* Church was established on June 8, 1877. The church and the adjacent school became the focal point of the Queen Anne community, a Black community on the Patuxent River between Mitchelville and Upper Marlboro. Fire destroyed the original log structure church in 1919. A second church structure was built in 1925. Mt. Nebo represents one of the few independent Black Methodist churches instituted in Prince George's County during this period. The structure at 17214 Queen Anne Road remains standing today and was designated a historic landmark by the State of Maryland in 1986 and is registered as the oldest AME historic site in Prince George's County.[776]

Although the Catholic faith is rarely mentioned in African American religious studies beyond Baltimore, Maryland is the home of the oldest Black Catholic congregations in the nation. Construction began on *Holy Family Catholic Church* in Mitchellville in 1890, built mostly by local Black tenant farmer parishioners, and was completed in 1892. The church served the African American Catholic community of rural Woodmore-Mitchellville. Isaac Wood, a white carpenter, recognized the need for a local Catholic mission for the community's African American families and deeded the land for the church to the congregation. The church now serves an integrated congregation. [777]

NRDetail.aspx?NRID=1477&FROM=NRMapPR.aspx; Ridgley Methodist Episcopal Church, National Register of Historic Places, accessed October 10, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-1402.pdf.

775 Union Bethel AME Church Site, Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form, P.G. #85A-18, accessed December 1, 2020, http://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/Documentations/85A-018/85A-018.pdf.

776 Our History, Greater Mt. Nebo African Methodist Episcopal Church, https://gmnebo.org/about/our-history; Mt. Nebo African Methodist Episcopal Church, Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form, accessed November 29, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/stagsere/se1/se5/018000/018900/018922/pdf/msa_se5_18922.pdf.

777 Holy Family Catholic Church, Mitchellville, MD, accessed October 6, 2020, https://holy-familywoodmore.org/history; Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Black History Program Brochure.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Of the dozens of African American settlements established by freed men and women in Montgomery County in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, few remain intact today. The church, as a badge of hope and faith, was usually the first institution established in a new Black community, typically followed by a school and a charity hall. Prior to the Civil War, Maryland slaveholders had been encouraged to instruct their enslaved laborers in Christianity. As abolitionist voices became more insistent, the State of Maryland resisted the push toward autonomous Black churches and passed laws forbidding assembly by people of color without an authorized White person in charge.

Rockville emerged as a wellspring of Methodism early on in Montgomery County. Most enslaved people attended church with the slaveholder or not at all. Nevertheless, serving as local preachers and bible class leaders, Blacks took an active part in church affairs. The races mixed in prayer meetings, revivals, Sabbath Schools, and services. When newly formed congregations expanded beyond the parlors of private homes, worshippers with building skills and abilities came together to erect larger places of worship. The same generational patterns can be detected for Black churches in Montgomery County as for houses, with as much as ten-year lag before the community amassed enough resources to erect a church edifice. These accounts, in part, for the discrepancy between the date the congregation began, and the date found on the cornerstone of many Black churches.

When repairs became burdensome, or the congregation grew in numbers or prosperity, these early chapels were replaced by a second and often later a third grand and more substantial edifice. For the most part, the African American built environment is dominated by practicality rather than historical legacy. Between each phase, craftsmen of the congregation undertook multiple renovations, additions, and improvements inside and out. In her 1983 book, *History of Nineteenth Century Black Churches in Maryland and Washington, D. C.*, Nina Clarke gathered the names of Blacks acknowledged for constructing local African American churches. The Howard Brothers, for example, built Pleasant View Methodist Episcopal Church in 1888; Poplar Grove Baptist Church near Quince Orchard was constructed by Joseph and Henry Mobley in 1893, and "community carpenter," George Dorsey, erected a two-story frame church with balcony at Jerusalem in 1874.[778]

[778] Eileen McGuckian, "BLACK BUILDERS IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY 1865-1940," The Montgomery County Story, Published Quarterly by *The Montgomery County Historical Society*, 192-193.

Methodism had strong presence in Maryland. Between 1870 and 1910 Methodists comprised more than two-thirds of all new congregations in Montgomery County.[779] Within the church organization, a circuit, or charge, was made up of a group of churches served by the same minister. Circuit riders traveled on horseback from church to church; their rounds took as many Sundays as there were churches on the circuit. Local preachers and class leaders helped minister to congregants when the circuit-riding minister was tending to other churches. [780]

Sharp Street Church is considered the oldest African American congregation and Sandy Spring is the earliest free Black community in Montgomery County. Sandy Spring was once the largest settlement of Blacks in the county. Early on Sandy Spring Quakers were expressing anti-slavery sentiments before the American Revolution. By the end of the War of 1812, most of the local enslaved population had received their freedom. In 1822, Thomas and Sophia Brooke transferred land to the Sharp Street trustees "as a place for interment of the dead and for erecting a house of worship."[781]

Many Blacks in the county continued to worship in their familiar mixed-race congregations, however, a great number of Black congregations were established by freedmen and women at the start of Reconstruction. Over the ensuing fifty years, African Americans founded forty settlements across Montgomery County. As other Blacks moved into the area, they put down roots near the church and on Brooke and Norwood Roads. The school at Sharp Street became a religious, educational, social, and cultural center. Local white teachers taught the night school there. By 1879 Sandy Spring, with a population at 100, supported a school on Brooke Road and two Black churches. A new frame church was built here in 1886 to serve the rapidly growing population. Quakers assisted the thriving community. In 1908 the sect worked together with Sharp Street to open the Maryland Normal and Agricultural Institute. A part of nearby burial ground was moved to Brooke Road, where two cemeteries continue to be used by the community.[782]

The large community of Jerusalem near Poolesville is the site of some of the earliest African American institutions in the County. According to Heritage Montgomery, "Jerusalem originated in 1861-62, when Federal troops established a camp for former slaves from Virginia." In the early Reconstruction years, local freed men

779 For a map of African American churches in Montgomery county, see: https://www.heritagemontgomery.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/community-cornerstones-brochure.pdf, 16-17.

780 "Community Cornerstones: A Selection of Historic African American Churches in Montgomery County," Heritage Tourism of Alliance of Montgomery, 5, accessed September 27, 2020, https://www.heritagemontgomery.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/community-cornerstones-brochure.pdf.

781 Ibid.

782 "Community Cornerstones," 14, 27.

and women constructed Jerusalem and Jonesville, a smaller settlement. Before the end of the nineteenth century, a schoolhouse, benefit society lodge, and burial ground stood within a few miles of two churches of different denominations.

Five local men bore the $150 cost "for the purpose of erecting a School House" in 1868. Love and Charity Hall was completed by 1870. The downstairs was used as a school and the rooms upstairs for meetings. Between 1871 and 1909, the first Elijah Rest church served the people before it was replaced by a larger frame structure. *Elijah Rest Methodist Episcopal* Church, now *Elijah United Methodist* Church was named for Rev. Elijah Awkard, who was assigned to this early circuit of African American congregations. Approximately 200 settlers and their descendants are interred in the church cemetery, with twenty burials dated before 1920. In 1950, the church and all its records were destroyed by fire.[783]

Since 1835, a Methodist Episcopal congregation has owned the site of *Jerusalem Methodist Episcopal* Church (named in 1881) on Wood Lane in Rockville, with a church built on the property by 1858. The first church building was segregated. White congregants entered through the front door, seating in the main sanctuary was reserved for them; enslaved and free Black worshippers entered through a separate door and were relegated to the gallery upstairs. Communion was offered first to white parishioners and only when they had finished and left the church were Blacks offered communion. Blacks who refused this segregated system, stood outside at the windows to receive the word of God. African Americans did serve as local preachers and class leaders.[784]

In 1845, when the Methodist Episcopal Church split into two factions over slavery, North and South, the southern faction in Rockville severed its connection with the congregation and constructed a new church in 1868. The "old church was left to the North, or non-slavery Methodists, and became a predominantly black congregation." With help from the Freedmen's Bureau office in Rockville, during the early years of Reconstruction, newly emancipated Blacks won legal title to the church property and the white members prepared to erect a new building on Commerce Lane. The Black church joined the Washington Mission Conference for Negroes and took the name Jerusalem Methodist Episcopal in 1881.[785]

In 1890, Rev. Daniel Wheeler is recognized as the earliest African American minister at Jerusalem. Two years after his arrival, the congregation tore down their old

783 Ibid., 14.

784 History, Jerusalem-Mt. Pleasant UMC, Building Believers Together, accessed November 13, 2020, https://jmpumc.org/about-us/history/.

785 Methodist Episcopal Church, City of Rockville, accessed November 13, 2020, https://www.rockvillemd.gov/2197/Methodist-Episcopal-Church.

church, and cleaned and reused the bricks to build a Gothic Revival church. In 1912, when Rockville Colored Elementary School was destroyed by fire, classes moved to Jerusalem until a new school could be constructed. The origins of the Civil Rights movement in Montgomery County can be traced to this church. Prompted by William B. Gibbs, Jr.'s victory in a case for equal pay for Black teachers in 1936-37, Jerusalem became the location of the original headquarters of the County chapter of the NAACP.[786]

According to Rockville Court House records the earliest settlement founded by the new freedmen themselves was located at Mount Pleasant on Muncaster Mill Road. Founded in 1866, the community also extended along Norbeck and Bradford Roads, east of the crossroads at Norbeck Road and Georgia Avenue. Circa 1885, the community also built *Mount Pleasant* church to minister to the spiritual and social, educational, and political needs of the community. A small cemetery at the rear of the church met the burial needs of the community. In 1989, the Mt. Pleasant church merged with Jerusalem and the church became known by its present name, *Jerusalem-Mt. Pleasant United Methodist* Church.[787]

About 70 families living along Sugarland Road and Sugarland Lane formed the Sugarland community. Beginning in 1871, newly freed men and women purchased adjacent tracts of small acreage from local whites to establish "Sugarland Forrest" in northern Montgomery County. The deed stipulated that the parcel was to be utilized for religious worship, a school, and as a burial site for people of African descent. Sugarland was founded on October 6, 1871 and operated as an autonomous Black township with a post office and store in addition to a school and a church. The original structure of Poolesville's *Sugarland Forest Methodist Episcopal* Church, one of the first buildings built in Sugarland, burned in 1893 and was replaced.

According to a contemporary source, Basil Dorsey,[788] who is listed in church records as one of the founders of Sugarland, actually joined and served in the Confederate army. Confederate recruiters had come through Poolesville in search of anyone—Black or white—willing to enlist. Dorsey was looking for means to provide for his family as he came out of slavery. By 1874, he and his wife Nancy were able to build a small two-room log house with a wood stove and glass windows.[789] By 1900, greater than forty African American families resided on approxi-

786 "Community Cornerstones," 9.

787 Mt. Pleasant Church and Cemetery, Maryland Historical Trust, Historic Sites Inventory Form, accessed December 2, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2023-113-1.pdf; History, Jerusalem -Mt. Pleasant UMC.

788 Not the Basil Dorsey who escaped to Massachusetts.

789 DeNeen L. Brown, Black Towns, Established By Freed Slaves, Are Dying Out, *The Washington Post*, March 27, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/black-towns-

mately 200 acres in Sugarland. The school, which stood from 1880 to 1925, was supplanted by a one room Rosenwald school that the primary place of instruction until integration. Sugarland residents interred their family and friends in the cemetery at the rear of the church. With dates spanning the 1870s to the present, the cemetery holds more than 200 graves, marked and unmarked. The church is now known as St. Paul Community Church and received landmark status in 1996. [790]

In 1813, newly freed and landowners of the Spencer, Lee, and Awkard families established Big Woods, the oldest Black settlement in western Montgomery County. With the changes ushered in by Reconstruction, other freedmen came and found jobs in industry and construction around Dickerson, Barnesville, and later found work around the railroad and quarries. After trustees bought the land in 1867, the original *Mt. Zion United Methodist* Church, in Dickerson was constructed, and Rev. Elijah Awkard also pastored this church. Depending on the day of the week, the "Old Meeting House" would serve as a school during the week, a meeting and social gathering hall on Saturday nights, and a place of worship on Sundays. A half mile from the church, nearly 130 graves, spanning from 1909 to the present are in a wooded cemetery area of marked and unmarked plots. The family plot on the hill behind the cemetery is the burying place for Rev. Awkard.[791]

In 1876, Reverend Elijah Awkward also served as the first pastor of *Warren Methodist Episcopal* Church in Dickerson where the nascent settlement of Martinsburg was racially integrated—unusual to find in rural Maryland. Once Nathan Naylor, a free Black man, acquired 97 acres there in 1866, other new freedmen came after and by 1879 the inhabitants had grown to 75. "Today, Martinsburg is a rare example of an African American settlement that retains the three anchors of the historical community—church, school, and benefit society lodge." Warren Church, initially constructed about 1866, and a small now overgrown cemetery faced Martinsburg Road. After a decade, oxen pulled the church to its current location. In 1886, the one-room Martinsburg Negro School, opened with 40 to 50 students serving grades one to seven.[792]

established-by-freed-slaves-after-civil-war-are-dying-out/2015/03/26/25872e5c-c608-11e4-a199-6cb5e63819d2_story.html; Basil Dorsey Log House site, Maryland Historical Trust, Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey, Mont: 17-41-12, accessed June 25, 2021, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/stagsere/se1/se5/016000/016800/016870/pdf/msa_se5_16870.pdf.

790 "Community Cornerstones," 12.

791 Ibid., 18.

792 Ibid., 13.

FOUR CHURCHES OF ST. MARK'S CHARGE OR THE BOYD'S CHARGE

As they embraced the freedom and early hopes of the Reconstruction years, the new freedmen and women who had helped build Boyds formed a faith community that became *St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal*, now *St. Mark's United Methodist* Church. The original St. Mark's Church in Boyds, was part of the Washington Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The circuit was named for the church: *Francis Asbury* Church, *John Wesley* Church, *St. Mark's* Church and *Montgomery Chapel* were a part of the Circuit. These four churches were referred to as the Boyds' Charge, or circuit.[793]

A small one room wooden structure, called the White Oak Chapel, was the predecessor to St. Mark's but was later destroyed by a windstorm in 1892. That year, the congregation purchased land and built the church. As had so many church structures at that time, this church also served a dual purpose by functioning as a school until Boyds Negro School opened. As Reconstruction took hold, the newly freed men and women remained to work on the large farms and to live in "White Ground." The arrival of the railroad in 1870 further fueled development. As contractor Col. James A. Boyd laid rails in the 1870s, he called upon white and Black residents to help build a new town. In 1879, Boyd sold land to trustees "to have and to hold… for the colored people…for the purpose of holding a public school and meeting for religious worship in the building now thereon." One room White Oak Chapel served as chapel and school for several years but was blown down in a storm in 1892. Through local residents' generous donations of land, labor, and funds, St. Mark's was rebuilt and dedicated in 1893 and a parsonage was constructed in 1899 that remained in use until 1968.[794] In the late 1990s, while straightening the cornerstone, church trustees discovered a time capsule from 1893 that had been put in place when the church was dedicated. Still active descendants of the founders live in the area. A cemetery containing 130 gravestones dates from the 1870s. The church was abandoned in 1964 but in 2008, the congregation merged with two other local churches.[795]

The Brownstown settlement located on the road connecting Germantown and Darnestown was named in honor of William Brown, a free Black man who purchased the land in 1868. Initially, worshippers used Brown's home for religious services. In 1883, the Board of Education compensated Brown for a lot and

793 St. Mark's United Methodist Church, Inventory Form and State Historic Sites Survey, M: 18-11-13, Maryland Historical Trust, accessed September 28, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2018-11-13.pdf.

794 Community Cornerstone, p. 17-18; St. Mark's United Methodist Church, Inventory Form and State Historic Sites Survey, M: 18-11-13, Maryland Historical Trust, accessed September 28, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2018-11-13.pdf.

795 Ibid.

building. while Local African Americans were renting Asbury Church, they began petitioning for a new schoolhouse in 1900. It was not until a Presbyterian Church study described County segregated schools for African Americans in "dilapidated condition" that the repeatedly denied petitions were granted. The first 1885 church burned sometime in the 1950s. The current Francis Asbury Church was constructed on its site in 1959 on the site of the original 1885 church. Representing Brownstown today is Asbury Church and its cemetery, which contains about 100 burials from 1902 to the present.[796]

In 1884 Lloyd Gibbs purchased 24 acres in the area south of Clarksburg that was the foundation for a Black community known as "Rocky Hill." Founders were soon joined by other families that held jobs as cobblers, mail carriers, midwives, teachers, carpenters, and farmers. Their (unnamed) church doubled as a school until a schoolhouse was built in 1894. A small frame building that stood on the same site in 1878 burned in 1921. The families built The *John Wesley* Church, in 1925 to replace the church. Clarksburg Negro School closed in the late 1930s, when 105 children in grades one to seven were consolidated with Germantown and Quince Orchard schools. The large cemetery behind the church contains approximately 300 burials that date from 1886 to the present.[797]

The 1871 *Montgomery Chapel* near Hyattstown, is one of the oldest churches of the Boyds Methodist Episcopal circuit. The church stood north of John Wesley on Frederick Road, and is the only church now without a congregation. School was held here and community meetings as well. In 1961, the church was vacated, abandoned in 1964, vandalized and then in 1981, it was razed. A small cemetery, now part of Little Bennett Park, is the only reminder of the sizable Black community that once thrived there.

Pleasant Grove Methodist Episcopal Church, located in the agricultural area of Purdum, northwest of Damascus, remains at the center of a small viable African American community. Its history stretches to 1868, when freedmen bought an acre of land and constructed Pleasant Grove M.E. Church a year later. It was known as the "White School House" because a public school was organized in the church. Fire destroyed the earliest small frame church in 1924. A cemetery on two

[796] St. Mark's United Methodist Church, Inventory Form and State Historic Sites Survey, M: 18-11-13, Maryland Historical Trust, accessed September 28, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2018-11-13.pdf; "Community Cornerstones," 20.

[797] John Wesley Methodist Church, Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey, M: 13-49, accessed September 28, 2020, https://mcatlas.org/filetransfer/HistoricPreservation/Cemeteries/099_John_Wesley_UM_Clarksburg/MHT_M-13-48_099_John_Wesley_UM_Clarksburg.pdf.

sides of the church holds in excess of 75 graves. The cemetery contains inscribed tombstones dating from 1869 to the present.[798]

ROCKVILLE CIRCUIT OF NEGRO CHURCHES

The "Rockville Circuit of Negro Churches," included *Brooke Grove Methodist Episcopal* Church, Rockville, *Emory Grove*, *Fairview*, *Mt. Zion*, *Howard Chapel*, *Quince Orchard*, *Brown's Chapel* and *Seneca*.[799] As in many of the developing Black communities, the church circuits unified community churches and the church, in turn, was a central unifying force in the community. Between 1865 and 1870, for example, religious services for the Emory Grove community in Gaithersburg were held in the tenant home of John W. Dorsey on a farm which is today the Montgomery County Airpark. Sunday school, prayer meetings, and class meetings were pioneered by Dorsey. These gathering attracted people from surrounding communities, some at distances of ten or twelve miles. This group of singing and praying people became the nucleus of a mission established in 1871 under the all-Black Washington Conference of the Methodist Church. They met in the home of Robert Taylor who had built one of the first houses in Emory Grove.[800] The first regularly appointed pastor, Rev. Perry Matthews pastored the Rockville charge of the Methodist Episcopal Church which included: Rockville, Norbeck, Quince Orchard, Laytonsville, and the mission at *Emory Grove*. *Emory Grove* was well known for the camp meetings that convened there each August for 90 years, from 1877 to 1967.

During the years when slavery was enforced in Maryland, Blacks in the Laytonsville/ Gaithersburg area had been required to sit in the gallery rather than worshipping in fellowship whites at Goshen M.E. Church. During the Civil War, the Goshen church split into northern and southern factions and wanted to sell the church to the African American community for $1000. Black congregants had been advised by a Freedmen's Bureau representative to buy their own ground and the Bureau promised assistance in putting up a schoolhouse.[801] At the start of Reconstruction, local freedmen followed the Bureau's advice and in July 1870, trustees purchased two acres for $75 and completed *Brook Grove Methodist Episcopal* Church, in 1871. Brook Grove was also called "the colored church at

798 "Community Cornerstones," 22.

799 Goshen United Methodist Church, accessed September 28, 2020, https://www.goshenunited.org/history.html.

800 Maryland Historical Trust Worksheet, Nomination Form for the National Register of Historic Places, National Parks Service, accessed November 12, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2020-9.pdf.

801 Robyn N. Smith, "The Prather Family Of Montgomery County, Maryland: Freedom's Journey, Part I," Maryland Genealogical Society Journal 58 (2017): 427–458, accessed September 28, 2020, https://www.reclaimingkin.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Prather-Family_MGS2018.pdf.

Laytonsville."[802] And served as a schoolhouse in 1879. Although it was established in the 1800s, Brook Grove has been reconstructed three times at this location. The first church was devastated by fire in 1876, then rebuilt. The third and present edifice was dedicated in 1952. The large cemetery bordering the church holds roughly 550 marked gravestones with dates spanning from 1865 to the present.[803]

Several of the churches, communities and congregations in Montgomery County are interconnected by the Rockville Circuit. *Mount Zion Methodist Episcopal* Church is located at a crossroads community west of Brookeville. During the early years of Reconstruction, the new freedmen and women in this area worshipped at Sharp Street in Sandy Spring. As the members of the congregation rapidly increased, the worshippers soon needed a church of their own. At first, Quakers Richard and Charles Brooke permitted freed men and women use of a log building to hold their meetings. In 1872, the congregation bought an acre of land on Zion Road, the Christian Association of Baltimore City provided materials, and the community erected a building to be used as church and school, which opened as a public school for Black learners. They also planned for a burial ground. The racially integrated community thrived throughout the Reconstruction years in the late 19th before dwindling in the early 20th century. In addition to churches and public schools, Mt. Zion claimed two general stores, a post office, and twenty-five residences. Mt. Zion's cemetery holds 162 marked graves, with more unmarked sites, dated from 1875 to the present.[804]

A cemetery and schoolhouse stand on three acres in Gaithersburg that represent more than 150 years of the African American experience in Montgomery County. The *Pleasant View Methodist Episcopal* Church in Quince Orchard, the congregation was established in 1868 during the early years of Reconstruction although a building was not erected until 1888. Nina Clark credits Black constructors, the Howard Brothers, with building Pleasant View Methodist Episcopal Church in 1888. The extant church is part of the Washington Grove Circuit of the Washington Negro Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Beginning in 1874 until 1951, a public school served the community. In 2015, Preservation Maryland, the state's preservation agency, named Pleasant View Historical Site as one of six sites across the state of Maryland intended for a better county approach toward preservation. The cemetery contains at least 70 graves dating from 1890 to the present day.[805]

802 Smith, "The Prather Family;" "Community Cornerstones," 23.
803 "Community Cornerstones," 23.
804 "Community Cornerstones," 24.
805 Pleasant View: From Civil War to Civil Rights, Preservation Maryland, accessed September 23, 2019, https://www.preservationmaryland.org/pleasant-view-civil-war-to-civil-rights/; "Pleasant View Historical Site Named One of Preservation Maryland's Six-to-Fix," Quince Orchard Project, accessed November 12, 2020, https://thequinceorchardproject.com/188-

Like the majority of the African American communities in Montgomery County, Good Hope was started by the newly emancipated along the public road leading from Colesville to Spencerville. At first, the new landowners ventured to Sandy Spring for worship service. By 1872 they constructed their own church, *Good Hope Methodist Episcopal* Church in Silver Spring and also established a cemetery. The first church welcomed residents from neighboring Holly Grove and Smithville as well as Good Hope. Reflecting the interconnectedness of the congregations, the church was part of the Sandy Spring Charge associated with the Washington Annual Conference for Colored Methodists. The church shared a minister with Sharp Street, Brighton Church, and Steward Chapel at White Oak. The cemetery to the rear of the church holds about 100 plots with a range of grave markers, dating from the 1880s to the present. In 1968, the church became part of Baltimore-Washington Annual Conference and was renamed *Good Hope Union United Methodist* Church. [806]

With freedom, congregations freed themselves from white dominance and formed independent Black churches such as the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination in Montgomery County. In 1867, sixteen Black members of the Rockville Methodist Episcopal Church removed themselves to form a church, at first meeting in Alfred and Jane Ross' home in Hayti. Initially, members of Rockville's AME Zion Church held services in their homes or in rented spaces. Later, the men of Clinton AME Zion Church and the Rev. Charles E. Pipkins cut lumber and built a small frame church on Middle Lane. It is likely that Carpenter Alfred Ross participated in both projects. Clinton AME Zion remains active today.[807]

Scotland AME Zion Church on Seven Locks Road in Potomac is another visible reminder of Montgomery County's rural past and of the challenges of changing times. It is one of six historic AME Zion churches established in the County. Freed men and women, many named Dove, Mason, Crawford, and Simms, settled in "Snakes Den" in the late 19th century. Congregants soon convinced the County that they could support a public school. The church was not organized until 1906 and behind the church is the cemetery, with mostly unmarked graves.[808]

One independent African American denomination that was established in Delaware also had a presence in Montgomery County. The African Union First

2/.

806 Church History, Good Hope Union UMC, accessed November 12, 2020, https://www.goodhopeunion.org/history.

807 Clinton A. M. E. Zion Church, Take a Walking Tour of Rockville's African American Heritage, accessed September 28, 2020, https://www.rockvillemd.gov/DocumentCenter/View/978/Historic-Rockville-African American-Walking-Tour-Brochure?bidId=.

808 Scotland AME Zion Church, Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form, accessed November 12, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2029-15.pdf.

Colored Methodist Protestant Church (AUMP) was an early independently controlled African American denomination that formed in 1813 with congregations predominantly in the Mid-Atlantic states. The denomination formed in the era when the *AME* and *AME Zion* churches were also taking hold. With the aid of local Quakers, freed men and women, settled in the Spencerville area just before the start of Reconstruction. With freedom came opportunities for work. Black men found work as farm laborers and teamsters; women found work on local dairy farms and raised poultry. The monies earned helped build their church, *Mount Calvary AUMP*, which trustee George L. Bowen organized in 1872. The first frame meetinghouse stood across Batson Road. The structure was obliterated by fire in the 1950s. A small graveyard located in a wooded area behind the church contains about twenty marked burial sites dated from 1850 to 1975, with local family names such as Carter and Dublin represented.[809]

The Baptist denomination was also active in Montgomery County. Blacks gravitated toward this form of religious expression in part because of the lack of central organization and hierarchical structure which allowed congregants to quickly establish churches. This factor in addition to the appeal of total emersion baptisms fueled the growth of the denomination. Poolesville was home to *Jerusalem Baptist* Church, the first Baptist congregation in the upper county. The church sat in the heart of the Jerusalem community and was established after emancipation. Most owners acquired and cleared their land after 1876, but probably had resided there earlier as tenants. The Dorsey, Copeland, Moore, Clark, and Genus families are associated with the founding of the church. As one of the few early Baptist churches in the area, congregants travelled from Sugarland, Sugarloaf Mountain, Martinsburg, and Sellman to worship at Jerusalem Baptist.[810]

In 1922, the growing congregation constructed a new church at a separate location. Before the new structure was completed, the original Jerusalem Baptist Church burned. A cemetery located along the westside of the north branch of Jerusalem Church Road stands to the rear of the site of the original church at the opposite end of Jerusalem Road from Elijah Rest M. E. Church. This older cemetery at the location of the original church contains the burials of many of the original founders of the Jerusalem community.[811]

809 Mt. Calvary AUMP Church Cemetery, Montgomery County Cemetery Inventory Revisited, accessed November 12, 2020, https://www.montgomerypreservation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/107_Mt-Calvary_AUMP_Spencerville_2018_Survey.pdf.

810 History of Jerusalem Baptist Church, Jerusalem Road, Poolesville, Maryland, 1974, accessed September 28, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2017-51-12.pdf.

811 Jerusalem Baptist Church and Cemetery, Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey, Mont. 17-51-12, Maryland Historical Trust, accessed September 28, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2017-51-12.pdf.

In 1880 the subdivision of Lincoln Park was recorded, and African American families bought homes there in Rockville in Montgomery County. Members of a religious community gathered under a large maple tree and established the *First Colored Baptist* Church of Rockville. In 1902, they purchased a plot of land and began to erect a church on Horner's Lane. The name was changed to *Mount Calvary Baptist* Church. Fishermen's Cemetery in Lincoln Park is the largest burial ground in the County established for African Americans. Prior to 1917, African American families buried loved ones in church or backyard plots. The Rockville chapter of the Order of Galilean Fishermen from Eureka Tabernacle opened a cemetery that year. The graveyard now holds more than a thousand graves.[812]

Beginning around 1883, Black families in the Poplar Grove began their religious experience first by worshipping in a log building under the tall poplar trees and baptizing members in the creek behind the property. The first congregation of eighteen members saved for a new building. Others donated land and erected the *Poplar Grove Baptist* Church in Darnestown in 1893. In design and construction, the church mimics Pleasant View at nearby Quince Orchard. Poplar Grove is one of just seven historic African American Baptist churches remaining in Montgomery County. Demonstrating the interconnectedness of church and community, the congregation often shared ministers with Jerusalem Baptist near Poolesville and with Round Oak Baptist in Spencerville. As was true of other churches, Poplar Grove Baptist organized choirs, usher boards, a missionary society, Sunday School, and a Willing Workers Club. The well-maintained cemetery behind the church contains approximately 140 burials, dating from 1904 to the present. Popular Grove is the last surviving nineteenth-century Baptist church of an African American congregation in Montgomery County.[813] Many of the Black communities and buildings noted by surveyors in the last quarter of the 20th century have since disappeared. These places now are only available through photos, oral histories, descriptions, and documentation. Cemeteries are often the most tangible evidence of these once thriving communities and their churches.

FREDERICK COUNTY

Frederick County is the site of a few of the oldest African American churches in the state. Established decades before the Civil War, independent Black denominations as well as Black congregations that formed inside white churches were represented in the county. Although the Methodist Episcopal church insisted that white ministers remain in control of Black churches, independent Black churches also flourished. Frederick was home to three A.M.E churches before the Civil War.

812 Ibid., 8.
813 Ibid., 11.

According to church history, the Bethel Congregation of the AME church at 106 East Third Street in Frederick has been in existence since 1800 and is "one of the oldest sanctuaries in the AME church and houses a congregation that has been in continuous existence in Frederick since the 1790s." The Baltimore Conference referred to the Frederick County Circuit in 1823. Rev. Thomas Henry, one of Maryland's early AME preachers began his ministry at the Bethel Church in Frederick City in 1835. Henry noted even at that early date that "the church was very much in need of repair, as it was in a bad condition."[814] The church was renamed Quinn Chapel in 1835 in honor of William Paul Quinn, founder of the church and pastor assigned to the Frederick County AME Circuit. Quinn would rise to become the denomination's fourth bishop. Like almost all the churches in this study, Quinn Chapel served as the first school for African Americans in Frederick at the beginning of Reconstruction. These earlier churches thrived, with a history that began in the early days of the Republic, flourished throughout Reconstruction and survive into the twenty-first century. The historic church at 106 E 3rd St, Frederick was placed on the National Register in 1973 and again in 1988.[815]

Middletown African Methodist Episcopal Church represents another AME church that once stood on South Jefferson Street in Frederick and dates to at least 1829. This central gathering place for African Americans during Reconstruction was destroyed by fire in 1883 and rebuilt the same year. There was a second fire in 1948; only parts of the foundation and a cemetery remain as reminders of the presence of the church that was a lifeline during Reconstruction.[816]

During the latter part of the 19th century, African Americans, some of whom were newly freed, founded a number of communities which dotted the countryside in Frederick County. Although several have vanished, a burial ground sometimes remains to speak of their former existence. Following a familiar pattern, the freedmen quickly built a school and a church whenever possible, particularly African Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal (now United Methodist) denominations.[817] *Wayman African Methodist Episcopal* Church, on the south side of Old Liberty Road, near Mt. Pleasant is one such church. Silver Hill United Methodist

814 Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry of the A. M. E. Church: Electronic Edition (Baltimore, 1872) accessed November 16, 2020, https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/henry/henry.html.

815 Quinn AME Church (African Methodist Episcopal), Maryland Historical Trust, Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey, FHD-822, accessed November 16, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/stagsere/se1/se5/012000/012000/012036/pdf/msa_se5_12036.pdf; History of Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Frederick Maryland, 1800-Present, accessed November 14, 2020, quinnamefrederick.org.

816 Gina Gallucci-White, Forgotten but Found: Rediscovering a Piece of African American History in Middletown, *Frederick Magazine*, accessed September 19, 2019, https://www.fredmag.com/forgotten-found/.

817 African American Heritage Sites in the City of Frederick and Frederick County, Maryland, accessed September 19, 2019, http://www.frederickhsc.org/pdf/hsc_aahsbro.pdf.

Church, 10170 Old Liberty Road, is adjacent to the church. Wayman was built about 1868 and Silver Hill, about 1875.[818]

Baptists were also active in Frederick. *First Colored Missionary Baptist* Church started as an all-white church and then in 1861 began holding segregated services which continued for eight years through the early years of Reconstruction to 1869. Whites eventually left the church. In June 1875, a small group of African Americans officially organized the First Colored Baptist Church at 141 West All Saints Street in Frederick. The church had about thirty members. Reflecting the dual role of church and school, every Sunday morning the church held a Sunday school for more than 90 children.[819]

Black enclaves in Frederick County, include Bartonsville, three miles southeast of Frederick, on Bartonsville Road. The town's founder and namesake, Greenbury Barton, emerged from slavery to become the first permanent resident of that part of New Market district. Bartonsville took root during Reconstruction and grew into a nearly self-sustaining community. In 1878 land was acquired to build a house of worship, which was dedicated in 1879. Today the church is known as *Jackson United Methodist* Church. Subsequently, *Saint James AME* Church was founded in 1883 following a rift in the congregation.[820]

Pleasant View, located on Pleasant View Road, not far from Doubs and Adamstown, was named in honor of the pleasant view from there. The community was founded by Patrick and Henrietta Ambush. Church and Sunday school began in the homes of congregants in the winter and out of doors in the summer until a structure could be built. In 1890, near the end of the study period, Patrick Ambush and Richard Harris donated land to build the church. Reflecting one of the circumstances that make relying too heavily on dating the founding of a church by its building misleading, work on the church was stopped for twenty years following an extended disagreement. The *Pleasant View United Methodist* church was finally completed in 1910. The Ambush family continues to live in the area.[821]

WASHINGTON COUNTY

The Reconstruction years brought to Washington County the same impediments to citizenship and economic insecurity experienced farther south, but with

818 Ibid.

819 "First Missionary Baptist Church: Our History, accessed September 19, 2019, https://fm-baptistchurch.org/our-history/.

820 Frances A. Randall, Exploring eastern Frederick County, The Frederick News-Post, March 11, 2016, accessed November 16, 2020, https://www.fredericknewspost.com/news/arts_and_entertainment/history/exploring-eastern-frederick-county/article_579d1f2d-7422-5eaf-9cb5-c3014ca4e7d5.html.

821 Clarke, History of the Nineteenth-Century Black Churches in Maryland and Washington, D. C.

freedom came opportunity. Rural communities and African American sections of town such as the Jonathan Street area of Hagerstown took hold and thrived. Churches that had been established before the Civil War were well-positioned to minister to the new freedmen and women and have continued to serve the African American community for more than a century and a half. As Nina Clarke notes, for several years, Black churches in Hagerstown, afforded the communal spaces for Black schools and fraternal lodges to thrive. Churches also functioned as the site of a Civil War hospital, for cultural as well as spiritual and political activities, for music programs and oratorical contests and for educational opportunities that endured during Reconstruction and have lasted across the centuries.[822]

Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church, now *Asbury United Methodist* Church began its long history in Hagerstown in 1818. The congregation began as a mission church founded under the supervision of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church (now John Wesley United Methodist Church since 1868). Asbury is the oldest church in Hagerstown built for a Black congregation. It is possibly the first in the county. The St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church provided white preachers for Asbury's Black congregation although local Black preachers also attended to the spiritual needs of the congregants. St. Paul's also required three white trustees sit in council with the congregation's officers to conduct the business of the church. This arrangement ended in 1879, when the church was deeded to its own trustees. Located at 155 N. Jonathan Street, the present church was rebuilt in 1879 after fire destroyed the building in 1864. Although fire again damaged the building in the 1970s, the congregation has worshipped in its present building since 1879. [823]

Other Methodist congregations formed quite early in Hagerstown. Rev. Thomas Henry, was enslaved throughout the 1830s and 40s when he serviced as many as eight AME churches in Southern Washington and Frederick Counties, including Pleasant Valley and the large, enslaved labor force at the Antietam Ironworks.[824] Although the Hagerstown AME congregation dates to 1816, the *Hagerstown AME* church at 26 W. Bethel Street was built twenty-three years later, in 1839, when Rev. Thomas Henry incorporated *Ebenezer AME* church. Although the historic church building and cemetery are no longer extant, it is the second oldest congregation in Hagerstown. By 1866, *Ebenezer AME* was "in the midst of a glorious revival of religion." The church had purchased "a comfortable house for the minister." *The*

822 Ibid.

823 The One Hundred and Seventy-Fourth Anniversary of Asbury United Methodist Church, accessed November 16, 2020, http://archives.dolemanblackheritagemuseum.org/documents/Asbury-United-Methodist-Church-Information.pdf.

824 Jean Libby, ed. *From Slavery to Salvation, The Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry of the AME Church* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1994); Tolson's Chapel, National Register Nomination, Section 8, Page 3, accessed July 24, 2020, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-1466.pdf.

Christian Recorder, the official publication of the AME church, said of Ebenezer: "it may be truly said that she is the leading Church, in this part of Maryland." Rev. Jacob Nicholson of the Hagerstown Station reported that "there is a fine school taught in the basement of the AME Church here by the Baltimore Association.[825] The Ebenezer AME congregation found accommodations in a number of church buildings on W. Bethel Street; their most recent church building was demolished in the late 1990s due to concerns over structural conditions. The historic congregation is now located in a residential building at 40 Bethel Street.[826]

The Fredericktown Circuit included Clear Spring and Hancock. AME Bishop Alexander Wayman came to Clear Springs in Washington County in late September of 1865 to dedicate a new church there. A little more than a year later, it was "nearly paid for," had "a fine lot of ground for a garden and burial ground." By 1870, the denomination was looking to expand further by purchasing a lot and building a church in Boonsboro.[827]

Tolson's Chapel at 111 E. High St., in Sharpsburg was a Methodist church built by newly freed African Americans on land donated by the Craig family. Black members of the local Methodist Episcopal Church established their independent congregation in 1866. In that year, the congregation erected a small chapel, later called Tolson's Chapel. The church was named for its first minister, John Tolson. According to a local newspaper: "The African Church, of which the Corner Stone was laid a few weeks ago, is framed, and will be ready for worship about the holidays."[828] Following the pattern of so many churches in this study, Tolson's Chapel also served as a Freedmen's Bureau school which was in operation in the church from 1868 to 1870. Burials in the extant cemetery behind the church date to the 19th century.

In the 1890s, stonemason Robert Anderson donated his skill in building *Mt. Moriah Baptist* Church at Garrett's Mill in Pleasant Valley, one of the hillside communities where African Americans settled. Mt. Moriah Baptist church stands as the only remaining active rural African American church in Washington County. Two other community churches from the 1800s still stand, including *Second Christian* on North Avenue, founded in 1894 and *Zion Baptist* with land deeded for a church in 1896. The founding and construction of their church was realized through the free labor of the men of the congregation in 1898. This Free Will Baptist Church

825 SPECIAL NOTICE, "Bishop Wayman's Appointments," Christian Recorder, September 30, 1865; Rev. J. Nicholson, "Letter From Maryland," *The Christian Recorder*, November 10, 1866; "Items From Baltimore Conference," *The Christian Recorder*, August 27, 1870.

826 Visit Hagerstown and Washington County, Maryland, accessed November 25, 2020, http://www.visithagerstown.com/things-to-do/recreation/African American-heritage.

827 SPECIAL NOTICE.

828 Ibid.

has always remained at its original location at 132 West Bethel Street, Hagerstown.[829]

CONCLUSION

The founding and growth of congregations and churches in the Area occurred in distinct phases. In the earliest phase, the oldest congregations formed in white churches where Black communicants were spatially segregated throughout the late eighteenth and more frequently, in the early nineteenth century. The origins of these congregations were less systematically documented and more difficult to historicize. Early Black congregations met in homes and other local spaces. As these already existing congregations began to physically separate along racial fault lines and acquire or build church buildings, an independent phase emerged during the earliest moments of Reconstruction. The Freedmen's Bureau often supported the churches in the efforts to provide space in their building to be used as a school. These efforts varied, at times, schools doubled as houses of worship while the congregation gather financial resources to build a separate church. These churches were the backbone of African American communities that were also forming, some of which have survived into the twenty-first century. Families gathered in community were often the backbone of these sites. Focus on congregations rather than church structures reveals the earliest pre-Civil War origins of the churches that were able to fully emerge during Reconstruction. At the same time, churches independent of white control also took root.

The independent African American church granted autonomous spaces of liberation for congregants and leaders—spaces buoyed by spiritual expression and political will at the end of slavery and the onset of Reconstruction. Separate circuits for Black churches that remained under white control also provided a greater measure of freedom than otherwise would have been granted to them. Across the Area different locations underwent different religious experiences. The Washington, D. C. area saw Blacks worshipping within diverse denominations as well as the more traditional Baptist and Methodist churches. The AME and AMEZ churches, often considered more militant, were quite prominent in the District of Columbia but were less visible in the Maryland and Virginia counties where restrictions against African American religiosity were bolstered by more rigorous laws. In all sections of the Area, however, church, school and community were intertwined and inseparable. At times, schools arose out of established churches, at others, gathering families formed a community and the church and school quickly took hold. Original church congregations and cemeteries rather than structures

[829] Edie Wallace, "Reclaiming the Forgotten History and Cultural Landscapes of African Americans in Rural Washington County, Maryland." Material Culture 39, no. 1 (2007): 9-32, http://www.jstor.org/stable/29764375, accessed November 17, 2020; Clarke, *History of the Nineteenth-Century Black Churches*.

often offer the sole surviving evidence of the breadth of African American religious experiences in the National Capital Area during Reconstruction.

PART III: RECONSTRUCTION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

CHAPTER NINE: VIOLENCE IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA—FOCUS ON LYNCHING

> I have waited patiently but anxiously to see the end of the epidemic of mob law and persecution now prevailing at the South. But the indications are not hopeful, great and terrible as have been its ravages in the past, it now seems to be increasing not only in the number of its victims, but in its frantic rage and savage extravagance. Lawless vengeance is beginning to be visited upon white men as well as black. Our newspapers are daily disfigured by its ghastly horrors. It is no longer local, but national; no longer confined to the South, but has invaded the North. The contagion is spreading, extending and over-leaping geographical lines and state boundaries, and if permitted to go on it threatens to destroy all respect for law and order not only in the South, but in all parts of our country — North as well as South.
>
> —Frederick Douglass, *The Christian Educator*, 1896

OVERVIEW

Attempts to control and coerce Blacks took on new forms during the Reconstruction period. Reconstruction saw a shift away from a patrol system of intimidation, away from control of African Americans through the use of night passes and Black Codes to control unauthorized gatherings, clandestine meetings and group organization and unfettered movement. With the end of slavery, the violence that was necessary to sustain the system of enslavement, uphold the myth of white supremacy and suppress Black resistance took different tactics. Lynching took root as one form of violent control that emerged to define the era.

The mass migration of freedom seekers and the housing of them in contraband camps in the earliest days of freedom revealed a period when control and intimidation methods of slavery collapsed immediately after the war but gave way to an altered system of violence and intimidation. The freedmen, for example, experienced violence both inside and beyond Freedmen's Village which initially had been conceived as spaces of refuge and relative protection. Internally, at Freedman's Village for example, Village resident Lewis Johnson reported that superintendent Danforth B. Nichols was well-known among the freedpeople because of his appetite for violence and abuse.[830]

[830] Testimony of Lewis Johnson, January 1864, RG 393, NA as cited in Lowe, Meanings of Freedom, 22; Maryland Governor Thomas Hicks to Simon Cameron, November 18, 1861, RG 107, cited in Berlin et al, "THE DESTRUCTION OF SLAVERY, 1861–1865." *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1992), 1–76.

Not willing to grant the freedom to the freed implied by emancipation, many states responded to the 13th Amendment by enacting Black Codes at the outset of Reconstruction. On Christmas Day, 1865, immediately following ratification of the Amendment, an armed confrontation took place in Alexandria. Fourteen Black men were killed, and two white men injured before military forces had to be called in to restore order.[831] The 13th and 14th Amendments should have guaranteed that Blacks could live without risk to their safety and with protection from the state. In the early stages, night riders rose up as a precursor to the mass violence and lynchings that would follow. These "gangs of armed white men" rejected the goals of republicanism and "took advantage of gaps between centers of federal power—whether in Washington, D. C., or Freedmen's Bureau and army outposts."[832] "The Ku Klux Klan, the White Leagues, the Red Shirts, the Knights of the White Camellia, and the Southern Cross were among the white extra-legal paramilitary societies bent on destroying the capacity of African Americans and their allies to exercise their political and economic rights and to defend their communities." By 1871, Frederick Douglass was lamenting in his newspaper, the *New National Era*, of the shaken confidence in Washington as to the region's "safety from the encroachment of the avengers of the rebel dead." In June, the *New National Era* attributed an attack on David Gainer, a 33-year-old new freedman at Barry Farm in the District, to the local Ku Klux Klan.[833]

Violence during this era was one of the tools of oppression meant to replace the tyranny of slavery. As Civil War historian George C. Rable indicates: "Terrorism in the Reconstruction era was instrumental in achieving the ends desired by its perpetrators."[834] Historian Nell Irvin Painter points out that one of the tenets that supports the myth of white supremacy "was that non-whites must not be allowed to compete successfully with whites, and in the South a prosperous black man always faced resentment that could be expressed violently."[835] Physical force was a measure of first resort when former slaveholders rushed to coerce apprentices and their parents to comply with apprenticeships that were the latest work regimes one step removed from slavery itself, particularly in Prince George's County. As

831 Alrutheus Ambush Taylor, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia*, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1969), 97, accessed March 23, 2021, https://archive.org/details/negroinreconstru00tayl/page/n3/mode/1up?q=violence.

832 Kidada E. Williams, "The Wounds that Cried Out: Reckoning with African Americans' Testimonies of Trauma and Suffering from Night Riding in *The World the Civil War Made*, Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur, eds. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 162.

833 "District Matters—Ku Klux," and "John Lanham Again—This Time as Ku Klux Leader —Have we a Ku-Klux Organization in our Midst? Ku-Klux Outrage in Giesboro," *New National Era*, June 15, 1871, 1, 3.

834 George C. Rable, *But there was no peace: the role of violence in the politics of Reconstruction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), xii.

835 Nell Irvin Painter, "The Flames of Racial Hatred," *The Washington Post*, February 4, 1996, accessed March 4, 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/entertainment/books/1996/02/04/the-flames-of-racial-hatred/b3d0b040-39a0-411a-a3f9-cf694d0be6d8/.

other authors have noted, however, the lack of statistical information on violent outbreaks in the NCA, hampers analysis of the topic.[836] Mob violence, and other types of vigilantism directed at Blacks ignored and circumvented the rule of law.[837] Painter points out, "Prosperous black men, or simply African Americans who acquired land in the South, frequently faced resentment that could be expressed violently.[838]

Fields indicates that in Maryland, "violent attacks on black people were frequently gratuitous and arbitrary; but they were not random."[839] Black soldiers were a favorite target because they symbolized the feared changes and empowerment of Blacks brought about by emancipation in Maryland society.[840] They could play an effective role in working with the Freedmen's Bureau, safeguarding those once held in slavery, and insisting on the enforcement of the Reconstruction amendments. Conversely, the war veterans encountered resentment and antagonism from white southern civilians, and they had contended with wavering commitment from a government whose role it was to protect African Americans. In Virginia, complaint and disapproval of their actions on the part of white citizens resulted in the expulsion of most Black troops from the state.[841]

In addition to Black soldiers targeted in the earlier period of Reconstruction, neither politicians nor teachers, churches nor schools were safe from violence. Of the common place violence against African American religious institutions, Fields observes: "Black churches attracted violence as velvet attracts lint."[842] Attacks were against both person and property. Hostility, anger and fighting over landownership and church title drove the unchristian like responses of white churches and their membership.

Schools, students, and schoolteachers suffered a similar fate. White teachers offering instruction to Black learners were shunned, threatened and ostracized. Not only were several teachers and students attacked by angry mobs in Virginia, but the Freedmen's Bureau records also indicated that in 1865, 18 teachers were murdered by hostile southerners. Four schoolhouses were burned in the state of Maryland.[843] It was not until 1866, when the Freedmen's Bureau officials began

836 Rable, *But there was no peace*, xii.

837 Margalynne J. Armstrong, Are We Nearing the End of Impunity for Taking Black Lives?, 56 *Santa Clara L. Rev.* 721 (2016). Accessed March 4, 2021, available at: http://digitalcommons.law.scu.edu/lawreview/vol56/iss4/2.

838 Painter, "The Flames of Racial Hatred."

839 Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 144.

840 Ibid., 145.

841 Encyclopedia of Virginia, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/united-states-colored-troops-the/

842 Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 144.

843 Aaron Jason Butler, "A union of church and state: The Freedmen's Bureau and the education of African Americans in Virginia from 1865—1871" (2013). Dissertations, Theses,

using military force to suppress the violence, that outward aggression and tension toward teachers began to subside, but sporadic incidents of violence continued. Black students attending school in Alexandria, Virginia were stoned by white students. Contempt and persecution were visited upon the white teachers by the white parents. As was the experience at other Virginia schools intended to educate the new freedmen, the teachers were often subjected to threats of violence and to all sorts of indignities; one teacher was murdered. [844]

Individuals suffered as well. In Prince George's County, Robert Carroll of Upper Marlboro, received thirty-nine lashes for declaring that he would defend himself if attacked by a white man. Philip Brown, for example was shot in the head while riding on a public highway in Montgomery County. Hillary Powell of Rockville in Montgomery County suffered a life-threatening beating from a man offended by an unrelated incident when Powell had the misfortune of walking near another man who had offended a white man. [845] Faced with the idea and reality of growing Black political power, whites added organized terror to the scattered acts of violence they had been exacting. Violence undergirded efforts to suppress Black voting and institute Jim Crow practices and laws that mandated racial segregation in public facilities beginning in the 1870s. For much of the NCA, however, public education had essentially been segregated since the establishment of most Area schools.

Arson attack was a constant threat that plagued Black churches. Violence expressed against them was widespread. Fields reports that Black churches often were victims of violence in part over resentment and anger over Blacks taking over land or churches previously owned by white, particularly Methodist, congregations. White Methodists congregants near Clarksburg in Montgomery County, for example, resorted to physical attacks over ownership. But, Fields continues, the most common reason for attack on Black churches was that the freedman conducted schools in the churches. [846]

Fiery attacks by arsonists were and are hard crimes to detect and are even harder to prove; these are examples of what was undoubtedly a wider problem. Vandals and arsonists attacked churches in Montgomery county as well as in other counties outside the NCA. When the Maryland State Colored Convention met in Baltimore in January 1866, the opening sentence of the convention minutes referenced resolutions passed to "solicit contributions and rebuild seven colored churches

and Masters Projects. Paper 1539618383, accessed March 22, 2021, https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.25774/w4-0k2t-pw52.

844 U. S. Bureau of Education, Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools: in the District of Columbia.

845 Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 143.

846 Ibid

in the State, which were burned by rebels and malicious persons."[847] Burnings, many unrecognized as arson continued across the century. In 1901, Montgomery County's Quince Orchard school was burned to the ground. Although arson was suspected, no action was taken.[848]

In Hagerstown, fires destroyed the life savings of two of its African American residents. In November 1889, Thomas Barnum, "a worthy colored man residing near Williamsport," lost everything. His prosperity was evidenced by the extent of his loss. His barn was "totally destroyed by fire, together with a wagon shed, corn crib, hog pen and about twenty-five tons of hay, five hundred bushels of wheat, forty bushels of oats, two hundred barrels of corn and all his farming implements and harness."[849] Barnum was partially insured. At the turn of the century, another fire made its way into the news. In 1901, "The savings of a lifetime were burned up in a fire which completely destroyed the two-story log dwelling" occupied by George Parish, a Black man from Hagerstown. He "had accumulated $1,800 in cash, which was sewed up in an old sofa in the house. All the furniture, including a piano and a $200 hand-carved mahogany wardrobe, and two gold watches" were destroyed. "The fire is believed to have been of incendiary origin" and inflicted about $3000 in loses to Parish and his wife who were preparing to move into their new home across the street.[850]

Virginia had similar patterns. The Freedmen's Bureau and the Black schools in Fairfax County continued to be targeted by vandals and beset by arson. In the fall of 1866, the schoolhouse at Frying Pan was burned down by arsonists and the school and church building at Lewinsville was partially destroyed by a mob. As mentioned earlier, Mount Pleasant Baptist Church in Prince William County in Virginia met a similar fate when it was destroyed by fire in 1882.

FOCUS ON LYNCHING

Lynching is defined by the NAACP as an extra-legal killing perpetrated by three or more individuals, who claimed their murderous actions were intended to uphold justice or tradition.[851] The Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) looks at lynching

847 Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*; State Convention of the Colored People of Maryland, Baltimore, January 1866, Colored Conventions Project, accessed March 22, 2021, https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/564.

848 Brigid Schulte, "On Tours, Uncovering Forgotten Footprints," *The Washington Post*, December 14, 2000, accessed June 11, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2000/12/14/on-tours-uncovering-forgotten-footprints/2429bd17-4aa9-4192-ab56-430a7a6e5611/.

849 "A Barn Burned," *The Herald and Torch Light* (Hagerstown, MD), Nov. 14, 1889, 3.

850 "Fire in Hagerstown. George Parish, Colored, Loses the Savings of a Lifetime," *The Baltimore Sun*, December 19, 1901

851 Amy Kate Bailey and Karen A. Snedker, Practicing What They Preach? Lynching and Religion in the American South, 1890 – 1929, US National Library of Medicine National Institutes of Health, accessed July 25, 2019, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3856205/.

as an act of racial terror. Historically, lynching is most commonly associated with southern states subjected to military Reconstruction, but the practice was much more widespread. During the years covered in this report, lynching also occurred in most of the NCA counties and contained the element of spectacle. EJI specifically defines terror lynchings as "horrific acts of violence whose perpetrators were never held accountable. Indeed, some *public spectacle lynchings* were attended by the entire white community and conducted as celebratory acts of racial control and domination."[852]

Murder by lynching requires premeditation, the rope working skill to tie a hangman's knot and location in addition to the force of a mob. The near universal lack of accountability for violence was prevalent throughout the NCA, particularly for the lynchings discussed in this chapter. Arson and attacks on individuals were less widely publicized. Lynching was the predominant and most widely publicized form of intimidation during Reconstruction. Klan activity as it relates to lynchings in the NCA , for example, is a topic that requires deeper exploration. All lynchings detailed in this report were characterized as being carried out by local outraged citizens. Although all follow a common pattern, the lynchings have not been summarized.

Violence in one form or another occurred throughout the NCA during the Reconstruction era. Few who lived in the post-Reconstruction period attempted to keep accurate totals of those who met their death through racial violence at the hands of White Supremacists between 1866 and the removal of Union troops in 1877. By the early and mid-1880s, this began to change. There were at least 100 Virginian victims of lynching, including at least 11 in Northern Virginia, between 1882 and 1968. These were counted among the 4,743 lynchings reported across the nation during the same period. Lynching and other acts of white terrorism took place against African Americans in all the sections of NCA. African Americans such as Ida B. Wells fought to record and bring the aggregate numbers of lynchings "carried out by so many American lynch mobs" carried out separately, generally under the cover of darkness, to the nations' awareness and to national consciousness. Lynching during this era was the omen for what one reporter called "violence-backed codes of Jim Crow" that lay ahead.[853]

852 Lynching in America, Equal Justice Initiative, accessed July 25, 2019, https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/.

853 Marouf A. Hasian, and Nicholas S. Paliewicz, "The Progressives, Ida Bell Wells-Barnett, and the Multiple Racisms That Marked Jim Crow Segregation." In Racial Terrorism: A Rhetorical Investigation of Lynching, 39-60. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2021). Accessed March 7, 2021. doi:10.2307/j.ctv1fkgc9s.6; Sheryll Cashin, Joseph E. Lowry, Dean of the Civil Rights Movement, 1921-2020, Postscript, Politico, December 26, 2020, accessed December 26, 2020, https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/12/26/joseph-lowery-civil-rights-movement-447692.

In a moment of great tension in Reconstruction politics in 1869 and 1870, Congress teetered between retreating from Reconstruction and furthering its Southern policy.[854] Violence toward African American citizens helped push Congress out of its complacency. Between 1870 and 1871, Congress passed three Enforcement Acts also known as the Ku Klux Klan Acts intended to protect southerners from political violence. The Acts specifically "prohibited groups of people from banning together or to go in disguise on public highways and upon the premises of another with the intention of violating citizens' constitutional rights."[855] This legislation, however, did not reduce harassment or intimidation of Blacks as evidenced by the rise of lynchings during this time period.

After 1871, Congress would more often retreat from rather than advance policies designed to safeguard the rights of African Americans in the South. The Reconstruction amendments did not fulfill on their guarantees and violent reprisals were firmly instituted throughout the Era but reached a nadir with the end of Constitutional Reconstruction. Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875 designed to protect the rights of all Americans regardless of race and endow them with the rights to "the full and equal enjoyment" of public places, failed and the concepts collapsed in the face of violent reprisals and legislative and judicial backlash.[856]

By 1871 conditions across the South were sufficiently alarming to provoke President Grant to direct Congress to act. The findings of a select committee of the Senate made clear that the power to correct the evils that existed in some of the states of the Union that rendered life and property insecure, was beyond the control of state authorities, leaving the Executive of the United States to act in response to the present state of emergencies. Some of those who testified as witnesses before the select committee had travelled north so that evidence could be taken in Washington, D. C. Much of the threat to the execution of the laws and the security of life and property were most seriously endangered by the existence and acts of organized bands of armed and disguised men, particularly those known as Ku-Klux,[857] although the Ku Klux Klan was never directly named in any of the NCA lynchings.

854 Masur, *An Example for All the Land*, 211.

855 Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights, NPS, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/upload/CivilRights_VotingRights.pdf accessed July 25, 2019; The Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871, United States Senate, accessed January 24, 2020, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/EnforcementActs.htm.

856 Landmark Legislation: Civil Rights Act of 1875, United States Senate, accessed September 16, 2020, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/CivilRights-Act1875.htm.

857 Report of the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872, 2, https://books.google.com/books?id=Ji42AQAAIAAJ&pg=PA2&lpg=PA2&dq=were+alleged+to+be+most+seriously+threatened+by+the+existence+and+acts+of+organized+bands+of+armed+and+disguised+men,+known+as+Ku-Klux&source=bl&ots=Q6zELVX8x_&sig=ACfU3U0WgXMeQSRu7srKnyYeu2mzrEp9mA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjT-b7isLzrAhVKh-

In order to note parallels and analytical elements, each lynching in this report is described in detail according to state, county and city involved in the incident. Each victim is named, and other personal information is provided. Rather than summary conclusions, the details are intended to leave a full accounting of the known lynchings in the NCA .

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The NCA did experience full extent of the terror and violence that ravaged the states farther south from Washington, DC and Maryland, particularly after the withdrawal of federal troops at the end of Military Reconstruction in 1877. But lynching, "the ultimate form of terrorism" assumed "a law enforcement function" in the region according to Washington historian Carroll R. Gibbs.[858]

In the District, a mob of nearly a thousand men converged on the Sixth Precinct on Massachusetts Avenue, NW with the threat of lynching Tom Smothers. Frederick Douglass ably articulated the problem when the citizenry takes the law into its hand. " . . . [T]he tendency is to lawlessness and anarchy in this country," Douglass observed. Irresponsible people take the law in their own hands and endeavor "to usurp the places of sheriffs, constables, juries, judges, and determining the guilt or innocence of men without fair trial."[859] Such was the case as the nineteenth century came to a close.

The rise of white terror groups throughout NCA began to build in the 1880s. By that date *The New York Times* reported that already "the region around this city, the capital of the Nation, has become notorious for the punishment of colored criminals by Lynch law, and for a public sentiment which supports those who in this way administer what they believe justice demands."[860] Between 1890 and 1900 a dramatic rise in the number of lynching incidents occurred throughout the Unit-

HIEHeNACBgQ6AEwAnoECAIQAQ#v=onepage&q=were%20alleged%20to%20be%20most%20seriously%20threatened%20by%20the%20existence%20and%20acts%20of%20organized%20bands%20of%20armed%20and%20disguised%20men%2C%20known%20as%20Ku-Klux&f=false; Report of the minority, in report and testimony of the select committee to Investigate the causes of the removal of the Negroes from the southern states to the northern states, Kansas Memory, accessed August 27, 2020, https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/210633.

858 Avis Thomas-Lester, "A History Scarred by Lynchings," *Washington Post*, July 7, 2005, accessed July 24, 2019, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/409856187/99DAC54872FE4881PQ/11?accountid=14696.

859 A TALK WITH FRED DOUGLASS: Misfortune of the Negro that the Sins of the Few Are Visited Upon the Many, *The Washington Post*, December 12, 1893, 9, accessed July 25, 2019, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/138871654/E58F3A6BFD834FADPQ/73?accountid=14696.

860 "A BRUTAL NEGRO LYNCHED: TAKEN FROM A MARYLAND JAIL AND HANGED," *New York Times*, July 28, 1880, accessed September 13, 2020, https://search-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/docview/93795824/BCA73AA9C03D4882PQ/2?accountid=14696.

ed States. As historian W. Fitzhugh Brundage argues, the reasons for lynching at the end of the nineteenth century were many and varied, depending on economic, political and social factors. Lynching occurred in greater numbers over whipping and beating when the social order of white society was attacked.[861]

In 1896, Hon. John M. Langston presided over a meeting arranged by "prominent colored citizens" at Second Baptist Church, Third Street between H and I streets, in northwest Washington, D. C. to discuss Maryland lynchings. The purpose of the meeting was to take action to bring guilty parties to justice.[862] Lynching, however, was never a federal offense and justice was never served. The Congressional Record outlines the three times the U.S. House of Representatives passed measures intended to federally outlaw mob violence; every time however, southern lawmakers killed the propositions in the Senate.[863]

On June 13, 1897, Sens. George Allen (R-Va.) and Mary Landrieu (D-La.) co-sponsored and the U.S. Senate approved Resolution 39 apologizing for never having enacted federal anti-lynching legislation. The resolution represented the first instance when this deliberative body acknowledged an atrocity committed against African Americans.[864] In the 56th Congress in 1900, Representative George Henry White, Republican from North Carolina, the only serving and the last of the African American Congressmen elected during Reconstruction, introduced the first anti-lynching bill.[865] From that time until today, 120 years later, the United States Congress has consistently failed to pass anti-lynching legislation making lynching a federal offense.

As indicated in this study, between 1869 and 1906, seventeen lynchings were reported to have been carried out against African Americans in the National Capital Area. There were likely more that went under or unreported. For those that could be identified, the ages of the murder victims ranged from fourteen to twenty-seven years of age. The lynch mobs that carried out the executions of the seventeen men ranged from an estimated low of thirty or thirty-five to an estimated high of two thousand members. Lynch mobs frequently made some attempt to at least mini-

861 "Attack of Mrs. Yeakle and Lynching of John H. Bigus," The History Engine, accessed July 25, 2019, https://historyengine.richmond.edu/episodes/view/2264.

862 "TO DENOUNCE MARYLAND LYNCHERS.: Colored People of Washington to Take Action at a Meeting This Eve," *The Washington Post*, Jul 16, 1896, 4, accessed July 24, 2019, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/143713533/447866E782E94E23PQ/21?accountid=14696.

863 "Avis Thomas-Lester, A History Scarred by Lynchings," *The Washington Post*, July 7, 2005, accessed July 24, 2019, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/409856187/99DAC54872FE4881PQ/11?accountid=14696.

864 "A History Scarred by Lynchings," *Washington Post*, July 7, 2019, accessed July 24, 2019, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/409856187/99DAC54872FE4881PQ/11?accountid=14696.

865 "Anti Lynching Petition," History, Art & Archives, U. S. House of Representatives, accessed July 24, 2019, https://history.house.gov/Records-and-Research/Listing/pm_031/.

mally disguise themselves, but perpetrators were often recognized by neighbors and local citizens. Reporting on accurate size of the lynch mobs varies widely. The mob often grows as the initial abductors are joined by local citizens as they move toward the lynching site.

According to newspaper reports at the time, upwards of 3000 mostly men were involved in NCA lynchings during the period under review. Some murders received extensive coverage, particularly across the south, while others were barely acknowledged. The details of each alleged crime, which will not be repeated here, generally follow a familiar pattern of a Black man—sometimes a teenage boy reported as being older—accused of raping, violating or otherwise defiling or outraging a young white girl or woman. In the NCA the badly mutilated bodies were frequently left hanging for hours after the lynching. For this report, the alleged crime itself is not explored in detail nor is the discussion of guilt or innocence.

Most of the men who were lynched across the NCA were dragged from local jails. The level of compliance of local sheriffs was largely unquestioned. In the two lynchings that occurred in Alexandria, "the white authorities were deliberately complicit in their refusal to name and bring to justice members of the white mob."[866] Despite the thousands of participants in these lynchings, authorities generally "failed to find any clue to the identity of the participants" even though, as in the case of the lynching of Benjamin Thomas in Alexandria, the policeman recognized some of his friends among the lynch mob.[867]

In 1892, John Mercer Langston delivered a speech in Chicago charging that on the federal level, the Attorney General "had not instituted a single prosecution against the perpetrators of [N]egro outrages in the south . . ."[868] For the lynching of Benjamin Thomas and Joseph McCoy in Alexandria, The Alexandria Report found that the lynchings, "illustrate a much larger and wider history of systemic racism, injustice, and violence that persists in Alexandria, and America, to the present day."[869]

866 Alexandria Community Remembrance Project, Report by the Alexandria Community Remembrance Project Research Committee, July 2020, accessed August 10, 2020, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/blackhistory/BenjaminThomasHistoricalNarrative.pdf.

867 "Burns Lynching," *The Wheeling Intelligencer*, WV, February 20, 1886, rarenewspapers.com/view/603453 accessed August 1, 2020; *Evening Times*, Washington, D. C., August 9, 1899, 2.

868 "Attorney General Miller," *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.), June 6, 1892, 12.

869 Alexandria Community Remembrance Project."

VIRGINIA

ALEXANDRIA, ARLINGTON COUNTY

Joseph McCoy, Age: 16 years old, reported as 20 years old

April 23, 1897

Virtually within the shadow of the capitol at Washington and a few minutes ride of the official residence of the President of the United States and the halls of Congress, Joseph McCoy was taken by a mob from the jail in Alexandria.[870] As was so often the case in such premeditated executions, the mob was equipped and prepared. They battered down the doors of the police station, egged on by "leading business and professional men." The lynching mob swelled from 150 to 300 to 500 men as they broke down the front doors of the stationhouse. "Many of the leading citizens of the town were among the crowd" and most of the members of the Alexandria Light Infantrymen expected to respond to the storming of the stationhouse were in the crowd instead. [871]

The mob dragged sixteen-year-old Joseph McCoy "out of the station house, up Fairfax Street to Cameron, down Cameron to Lee to the southeast corner, where they quickly put a rope around his neck" and hanged him to a lamp post on "one of the city's principle thoroughfares." It took but a second to jerk him off his feet. The gathered crowd broke into great cheers as his lifeless body hung from the rope.[872] "Bullet after bullet was sent into his body, and when he had been cut down one of the mob used an axe on his head and blood and brains were spattered on the pavement."[873] Four of the attackers, Frank Spink, Ferdinand Knight, James W. Frank and Charley Armour were arrested but the mayor quickly released them. The newspaper reported that "There probably will be no official action following the lynching here last night of Joseph McCoy."[874]

ALEXANDRIA, ARLINGTON COUNTY

Benjamin Thomas, Age 16

August 8, 1899

Two years later and three blocks away, another sixteen-year-old, Benjamin Thomas, would meet the same fate as Joseph McCoy. Thomas had been thrown into city jail in the basement of the Alexandria police station on Asaph Street.

---

870 "The Lynching at Alexandria." Richmond Planet, May 1, 1897, accessed July 25, 2019, https://blackvirginia.richmond.edu/items/show/1158.

871 Ibid.; "Murdered Him," and "No Action Taken," *Richmond Planet*, May 1, 1897, accessed August 1, 2020, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025841/1897-05-01/ed-1/seq-1/.

872 "Murdered Him," and "No Action Taken," *Richmond Planet*, May 1, 1897, accessed August 1, 2020, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025841/1897-05-01/ed-1/seq-1/; "Joseph McCoy in Arlington, Racial Terror: Lynching in Virginia," accessed August 10, 2020, https://sites.lib.jmu.edu/valynchings/VA1897042301/.

873 "Lynched at Alexandria," *Staunton Spectator and Vindicator*, April 29, 1897.

874 "Murdered Him," and "No Action Taken," Richmond Planet, May 1, 1897, accessed August 1, 2020, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025841/1897-05-01/ed-1/seq-1/.

Perceiving the threat to Thomas's life, African American men organized groups in defense of the prisoner. City officials and law enforcement officers both blocked and disciplined members of Alexandria's Black community who sought to defend against and stand up to such white mob violence. Their presence was viewed as a threat rather than as a defense.[875]

The lynch mob bashed in the wooden doors at the police station, and, after overpowering the guards, broke through the iron cell doors. The mob found the understandably frightened teenager and "one hundred willing hands" dragged him out and upstairs onto the street. Many members of the mob were known to the jailer, Chief of Police James F. Webster, as he reported, "The mob element, although it may be composed of some of my friends, will be prosecuted as far as I am able . . ."[876] With a rope already around Thomas' neck, in his mouth and under both arms, the hooting and jeering mob dragged the teenager, his head bumping over the rough cobblestone streets of Old Town down St. Asaph Street. The now frenzied and relentless mob "fired bullet after bullet into his body for every inch of that distance."[877]

Surrounded by a mob estimated to be as large as 2,000 whites, Thomas' brutalized body was stoned with brickbats and rocks, pelted with pieces of iron and pocket-knives. When the crowd reached the intersection of King and Fairfax streets, one of the most prominent intersections in Alexandria, they crushed Thomas' head—"his breast and legs were a mass of bullet holes."[878] Across from Market Square, a noosed rope was thrown over a lamppost and Thomas was lynched by "willing hands" that pulled at the loose end of the rope.[879]

As he was dying, Thomas, who has hanged around midnight, called out for his mother. The murders then at the southwest corner of King and Fairfax Streets in the shadow of City Hall emptied their pistols into the corpse of the teenager's nude body. The Times reported that Thomas' body was riddled with 200 bullets. Benjamin Thomas died on Aug. 8, 1899, hanging from a lamppost near city hall at the corner of Fairfax Street and King Streets. The coroner's inquest revealed that he had died from a bullet wound to his heart.[880] At the inquest, mirroring the

875 Alexandria Community Remembrance Project, Report by the Alexandria Community Remembrance Project Research Committee, July 2020, accessed August 10, 2020, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/blackhistory/BenjaminThomasHistoricalNarrative.pdf.

876 *Evening Times*, Washington, D. C., August 9, 1899, 2.

877 *Washington Times*, August 29, 1899, p. 4; *Cleveland Gazette*, August 26, 1899, 1; *Washington Times*, August 9, 1899, 2.

878 *Washington Times*, Washington, D. C., August 9, 1899, 2.

879 *Richmond Planet*, August 12, 1899.

880 Cleveland Gazette, August 26, 1899, p. 1; The Richmond Planet, August 12, 1899, p. 2; Alexandria Gazette, August 9, 1899, p. 3; "The Lynching of Benjamin Thomas, August 8, 1899," Alexandria Community Remembrance Project, Report by the Alexandria Community

circumstances surrounding the lynching of Joseph McCoy, the jury declared that the members of the mob were "unknown to the jury." Even though the lynchers wore no masks and made little effort to conceal their identities and it was reported that prominent citizens were present and involved, "white citizens, officers, and officials refused to name the white men who took part in the murders." As was frequently the practice, several spectators eagerly rushed to the spot to snatch "souvenirs" from the scene.[881]

LEESBURG, LOUDOUN COUNTY

Page Wallace, Age 25 years old

February 11, 1880

A crowd of about 100 men lynched 25-year-old Page Wallace on February 11, 1880. The murder took place across the Potomac River from Point of Rocks in Frederick County, MD, near Leesburg, in Loudoun County for a crime allegedly committed on January 29th. The lynchers tracked Mr. Wallace to Point of Rocks, Maryland, to a neighborhood, "already noted for its lynchings."[882] The newspapers reported that if Wallace were to be caught, "he will undoubtedly be as summarily dealt with as were his predecessors, Carroll and Peck."[883] Wallace had been jailed in Point of Rocks in Frederick County but was rowed to the Virginia side. As the Sheriff and officers with Wallace stepped ashore, they were accosted by thirty men "with handkerchiefs tied over their faces." Reports vary, others say that as the sheriff was escorting Wallace back to Virginia by ferry, 150 masked and armed men — and the alleged girl victim — swarmed them on the Virginia side of the river. The lynch mob disarmed the officers, seized Wallace dragged him back to the spot where the crime was supposed to have happened and put a noose around his neck. After Wallace was hung, the crowd, led by the alleged victim who fired the first three or four shots into the body, began firing in rapid succession into the corpse.[884]

The bullet ridden body was left to hang from the limb of a sycamore tree on Leesburg Road for eighteen hours—from 6 p.m. until 11 or 12 p.m. the following day. Loudoun County authorities finally removed Wallace's body. After a hastily

Remembrance Project Research Committee, July 2020, accessed August 8, 2020, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/blackhistory/BenjaminThomasHistoricalNarrative.pdf; Avis Thomas-Lester, A History Scarred by Lynchings, *Washington Post*, July 7, 2005, accessed July 24, 2019, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/409856187/99DAC54872FE4881PQ/11?accountid=14696; Patricia Sullivan, "In a Summer of racial protests, Alexandria remembers a young lynching victim, *The Washington Post*, August 8, 2020, accessed August 8, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-news/alexandria-lynching/2020/08/07/45eead66-d8bb-11ea-930e-d88518c57dcc_story.html.

881 "A Negro Lynched," *The Evening Star*, August 9, 1899, 2.

882 "Lynch Law, Again," *Richmond Dispatch*, February 19, 1880.

883 Most likely James Carroll and George Peck killed in Prince George's County, MD. "Another Outrage Case," *Shenandoah Herald*, February 4, 1880.

884 "Another Outrage Case," *Shenandoah Herald*, February 25, 1880.

held inquest, the jury returned the verdict "that Page Wallace came to his death . . . by lynching at the hands of unknown parties." The newspaper reported that "No attempt was made to identify the lynchers, which could have been easily done had the authorities so desired."[885] According to the *Richmond Dispatch*, "This is the third lynching that has happened within a radius of ten miles within a year, and yet popular feeling in this locality seems very slow to condemn the lynchers, and condones the crime." The reporter was referring to James Carroll, killed in Point of Rocks, Frederick County, MD who was the first victim, George Peck of Poolesville in Montgomery county, the second and Wallace was third.[886]

LEESBURG, LOUDOUN COUNTY

Orion (Owen) Anderson, Age 14, reported age between 18 and 20

November 9, 1889

The lynching of Orion[887] Anderson points to the premeditated, knowingly illegal and immoral actions of the attackers. Age distortion is one of the patterns of discrepancies associated with narratives of lynching. First reported in the newspapers as being between 18 and 20 years old, 14-year-old Orion was among a trilogy of known young victims lynched in Loudoun County during the Reconstruction period.[888] Anderson had been taken to the Leesburg jail, to wait for the decision of the grand jury. The young teenager was "taken from the prison between 1 and 2 o'clock this morning" by a mob of twenty-five or thirty disguised and excited men on horseback. The headline blared, "How Lynching was Conducted in Loudoun County, Horses with Muffled Feet and a Bogus Prisoner—Swung from Derrick."[889]

The Leesburg, VA lynching in the neighborhood of Hamilton speaks to the premeditated and deliberate actions of the executioners as the "citizens of Round Hill" were "determined" to lynch the victim. Th mob went to Leesburg at midnight.[890] "From the noiseless stepping of their horses the presumption is the feet of the horses were muffled or unshod."[891] The murderous intent of the mob is reflected by their premeditation; they used masks and rags to cover their faces and

885 "Point of Rocks," *Catoctin Clarion*, February 19, 1880, 2; "Wallace's Body Hangs for Eighteen Hours," *The Evening Star*, February 19, 1880, 3.

886 "Lynch Law, Again," *Richmond Dispatch*, February 19, 1880.

887 Also reported as Owen Anderson.

888 "First of Three Young, Black Lynching Victims In Loudoun County To Be Memorialized," The Kojo Nnamdi Show, WAMU 88.5, accessed August 12, 2020, https://wamu.org/story/19/06/18/first-of-three-young-black-lynching-victims-in-loudoun-county-to-be-memorialized/.

889 "They Hanged Him," *Richmond Dispatch*, November 9, 1889, accessed August 12, 2020, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/_They_Hanged_Him_Richmond_Dispatch_November_9_1889.

890 "Bitter Race War," The Pittsburgh Dispatch, November 10, 1889, 7, accessed September 14, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024546/1889-11-10/ed-1/seq-7/#date1=1888&sort=relevance&rows=20&words=Anderson+Owen&searchType=basic&sequence=0&index=5&state=&date2=1891&proxtext=%22owen+anderson%22&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2.

891 Ibid.

"had taken axes, crowbars, and sledges from one of our blacksmith shops to use in case they were needed." One newspaper report estimates that 100 armed men came to town.[892]

In a ruse to obtain access to the jail, one of the lynchers was bound hand and foot and taken to the jail as a prisoner by two or three of his accomplishes.[893] When the sheriff opened the door to admit them, one of the posse indicated that they had come for Anderson, seized the jailer's keys and dragged Anderson out.[894] From there, the victim was taken on the Washington Turnpike to the freight depot of the Richmond and Danville Railroad at Church street a half mile east of Leesburg, "where one of the posse on horseback put the rope through the hook on the derrick" which stood at the front of a building being erected in the center of town. "Anderson was raised up and was dead in a few minutes."[895]

After these acts of violence, the body is often further mutilated, and such was the case for young Anderson. The mob fired "several pistol-shots" into his body. "One ball struck in the head, one in the body and one in the leg."[896] According to The Pittsburgh Dispatch and a few other papers, a placard was pinned to Anderson's shirt with the following warning, "The safety of our wives and daughters must be secure, and all such negroes exterminated. WHITE CITIZENS OF VIRGINIA."[897] The parties then left by Middleburg road.

The Pittsburg Dispatch reported that Louden [sic] county was expecting a "race war" because Blacks were "wild over the lynching of Owen Anderson."[898]

---

892 "A Lynched Negro," The Waterbury Evening Democrat (Waterbury, CT), November 9, 1889, accessed September 14, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn94053256/1889-11-09/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=1888&index=0&rows=20&words=Anderson+Owen&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1891&proxtext=%22owen+anderson%22&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1.

893 "A Youthful Mahoneite," The Daily Times (Richmond, VA), November 9, 1889, 1, accessed August 12, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86071854/1889-11-09/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=1888&sort=relevance&rows=20&words=Anderson+Owen&searchType=basic&sequence=0&index=1&state=&date2=1891&proxtext=%22owen+anderson%22&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3.

894 "They Hanged Him," Richmond Dispatch, Nov. 9, 1889 https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/media_player?mets_filename=evr10408mets.xml; The Washington Post, Nov. 9, 1889

895 "On This Day—Nov. 8, 1889, Young Black Man Lynched for Allegedly Frightening White Girl in Leesburg, Virginia," EJI, accessed September 15, 2020, https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/nov/8; "Bitter Race War."

896 "They Hanged Him."

897 Ibid.; "Crime in Virginia," *New Haven Daily Morning Journal and Courier* (New Haven, CT), November 11, 1889, accessed September 15, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015483/1889-11-11/ed-1/seq-3/#date1=1888&sort=relevance&rows=20&words=Anderson+Owen&searchType=basic&sequence=0&index=0&state=&date2=1891&proxtext=%22owen+anderson%22&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3.

898 "Bitter Race War."

LEESBURG, LOUDOUN COUNTY

Charles Craven, Age 22 years old

July 31, 1902

Following the repeated pattern, twenty-two-year-old Charles Craven was hanged and riddled with bullets on the afternoon of Thursday, July 31, 1902 within a mile east of Leesburg in Loudoun County and within thirty miles of the Nation's Capital. Unlike the majority of the victims, Craven was accused of robbing a white boy and murdering a white farmer.

Reminiscent of the hunt for those who escaped slavery, one hundred men with Bloodhounds tracked the victim across two counties before he was captured near Ashburn. All the victims said at his surrender was, "I wish God could come down from heaven and testify." He was brought to Leesburg by train and housed in the county jail. News of his capture was sent via telegraph to nearby stations and scores of passengers crowded the cars bound for Leesburg and "fully one hundred weapons were drawn on him before he reached the Leesburg. While armed men protected Craven from assault, when the train reached the depot "loud cheering of exulting citizens greeted the prisoner as he was pushed and pulled from the baggage car." Cries of "Lynch him" and "Bring the rope" rose from the crowd. About the same time a "colored emancipation procession appeared on the streets" and several Black women denounced those who were trying to take the prisoner's life.[899]

Drunkenness soon became a factor as saloons were heavily patronized following Craven's arrest and clear signs of eminent danger for Craven led the mayor to order all saloons closed. Fearing for Craven's life, the sheriff devised a sham in order to move his prisoner across the Potomac River, through Maryland and on to Washington.[900] Despite the dispatching of the Alexandria Light Infantry intended to prevent Craven from being lynched, a mob reported as 150 or 300 to 500 heavily armed men, "composed of some of the best citizens of Loudon [sic] and Fairfax counties," broke through the jail using hammers and crowbars, seized Craven and took him to the alleged scene of the crime "about a mile down the railroad track in Leesburg." A noose was thrown around his neck as he was led down the pike. According to one newspaper account, the men were anxious to take Craven

899 "Craven's Murders," *Richmond Planet*, August 23, 1902, p. 1; "Lynched by Citizens," Evening Star, (Washington, D. C.) July 31, 1902, 2, accessed September 15, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1902-07-31/ed-1/seq-2/#date1=1902&index=3&rows=20&words=Charles+Craven&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1903&proxtext=charles+craven&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1.

900 Special Dispatch to the *Evening Star*, July 31, 1902, 2, accessed September 15, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1902-07-31/ed-1/seq-2/#date1=1902&index=3&rows=20&words=Charles+Craven&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1903&proxtext=charles+craven&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1.

to Fairfax county where the alleged crime had been committed but the crowd could not contain itself for the length of time required to complete that trek.[901]

Craven was beaten almost to death on the way to his execution. "Men and women, and children, who lined the road from the jail to the scene of the execution, cheered the mob."[902] There Craven was hanged at a point on the Washington turnpike by "a score of farmers [who] pulled the rope that jerked his body into the air, and strangled him to death." The men used at least fifty rifles to fire 400 to 500 shots into his dead body. After his murder, "time demonstrated that . . . another fearful blunder had been added to the long list which will sooner or later confront the devotees of Judge Lynch."[903] Although ten men were identified, one left town and four were tried for Craven's murder, all were subsequently acquitted.[904]

For the lynching of Craven, names were freely mentioned in the inquiry into the lynchings suggesting that "it should be comparatively easy to proceed against the leaders in that atrocity" since there was "no attempt at concealment or disguise" and "the whole affair took place in the open day." Men were recognized and in some cases reproached "by their more conservative neighbors as they went about their terrible errand."[905] The news account referred to another lynching that had occurred in Leesburg eighteen years prior but for which no record has been found.

WEST VIRGINIA

African Americans in West Virginia assumed a proactive stance toward mob violence and lynching. It is one of the few states that has passed an anti-lynching law. Ten lynchings occurred in West Virginia from 1890 to 1900 but none in Jefferson County as part of the NCA . Edward Howell was murdered by lynching in 1906, however, a time period immediately outside the scope of this report. West

901 "Lynched by Citizens."

902 "Negro Is Lynched Within 30 Miles of Nation's Capital," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 1, 1902.

903 "Craven's Murderers," and "The Lynching of Charles Craven," *Richmond Planet*, August 23, 1902, accessed March 23, 2021, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025841/1902-08-23/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=1902&index=6&rows=20&words=CHARLES+Charles+CRAVEN+Craven&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1902&proxtext=%22charles+craven%22&y=8&x=15&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1.

904 Ibid., "Ten Men Must Answer for Lynching Craven," *The Times* (Richmond, Virginia), 1, accessed August 12, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/vi_berea_ver01/data/sn85034438/00175045703/1902080601/0361.pdf.

905 "The Leesburg Inquest," *The Evening Star*, (Washington, D. C.), August 4, 1902, 4, accessed August 24, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=19&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-14168094763FCD58%402415966-14166E82D40FE8F8%403-14166E82D40FE8F8%40&firsthit=yes.

Virginia, however, is considered "ahead of the national sentiment in enacting the landmark Capehart Anti-Lynching legislation of 1921."[906]

MARYLAND

"The region around this city, the capital of the Nation, has become notorious for the punishment of colored criminals by Lynch law, and for a public sentiment which supports those who in this way administer what they believe justice demands," *The New York Times* stated in 1880, the year George Peck of Montgomery County, MD, and John Diggs of Washington, DC were lynched in January and July, respectively in the county. "HUNG BY A MOB. A Brutal Negro Lynched for Attempted Outrage," broadcasted the *Washington Post* headline in the Jan. 13, 1880.[907] Yet, Maryland was labeled as "genteel" because the lynching was without "the roasting feature," often reported as a component of the crime.[908] In the lynching of Joseph Vermillion in Upper Marlboro in Prince George's County, the "white caps" a forerunner to the Ku Klux Klan had harassed the family prior to the lynching. White Caps were also known to use means of intimidation to force targeted residents from their homes.[909] Details about such white vigilante groups in Maryland are limited.

Prince George's County, Maryland had both the highest number at five acknowledged lynchings and the earliest date in 1869. Some lynchings receive more news coverage than others. By 1899, Chief Judge John P. Briscoe of the Circuit Court for Prince George's county warned against the practice of lynching in dealing with perpetrators of heinous crimes. The judge admonished citizens of the county that on no occasion should there be any "excuse to add one crime to another by lynching."[910] In response to the threatened lynching of Pug Thomas Marlboro in September 1889, it was "rumored that some colored men have made threats to the

906 Adrienne Beasley, "Lynching in West Virginia," The Carter G. Woodson Project, Marshall University, accessed August 24, 2020, https://www.marshall.edu/woodson-dev/lynching-in-west-virginia/#:~:text=West%20Virginia%20can%20still%20be,West%20Virginia%20Representatives%20pledged%20support.

907 Eugene L. Meyer, "Once Upon a Time in Montgomery County," *Bethesda Magazine*, February 2018, accessed July 23, 2019, https://bethesdamagazine.com/bethesda-magazine/september-october-2011/once-upon-a-time-in-montgomery-county/.

908 *The Freeman*, (Indianapolis, Indiana), November 23, 1895, accessed September 13, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&t=pubname%3A12B28495A8DAB1C8%21Freeman&sort=YMD_date%3AA&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=Lynching%20maryland&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A12B28495A8DAB1C8%40EANX-12C5FBED9FFFA680%402413521-12C5FBEDC8C339A0%403-12C5FBEE5CCDC780%40%255BMaryland%255D&firsthit=yes.

909 William F. Holmes, "Whitecapping in Late Nineteenth Century Georgia." In *From the Old South to the New: Essays on the Transitional South*, 123. Praeger, 1981.

910 "Prince George's County. Chief Judge Briscoe Utters a Warning Against the Practice of Lynching," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), April 4, 1899, 8.

effect that there would be some burning of property in the county in case Thomas is lynched."[911]

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, NEAR PISCATAWAY

Thomas Juricks, Age: Unknown

October 12, 1869

Although the Maryland State Archives was aware of this lynching for some time, the victim remained unidentified until 2016. A death certificate matching the date, site and circumstances of the incident was signed by then-county coroner R. Walter Brooks, and identified the victim as Thomas Juricks.[912]

After moving to Prince George's county from Buckeystown near Frederick, Thomas Jurick found work as a laborer to support his wife and six children. While working on the Schoaff farm, Juricks injured his hand and used fabric torn from his trouser leg to form a bandage for the injured hand. After the alleged victim was assaulted, a posse of local residents began hunting for her assailant. Their first target was James Jackson; Juricks was the second man captured and then chained to Jackson. There was no evidence linking either man to the alleged incident. Around midnight a gang of men attempted to lynch both men but were thwarted by the jail guards.[913] After community members made claims of discovering cloth near the scene that matched Jurick's makeshift bandage from his trouser leg, Jurick was moved from Piscataway to Marlboro and was placed under protective custody of two Constables.

On October 14, 1869, *The New York Herald*, reported a scene at the execution of an unnamed lynching victim sixteen miles from Washington, D.C. The two constables first took Thomas Juricks by wagon to Juricks' home to allow him to say goodbye to his wife. As the wagon was waiting in front of the house, about twenty men approached, dressed only in their shirts and underwear and all wearing "handkerchiefs with pierced eye holes" masking their faces. The mob overpowered one of the constables, who fired several shots, but he was ultimately tied and left at the roadside. The attackers forced the second constable to drive the wagon

911 "Guarding the Marlboro' Jail," *The Evening Star*, (Washington, D. C.), September 3, 1889, accessed August 24, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=4&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13EA9B582AAA5148%402411249-13EA3B670156A6C0%405-13EA3B670156A6C0%40&firsthit=yes.

912 Jonathan Pitts, Lynchings in Maryland, *Baltimore Sun*, n.d. https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings/ accessed January 28, 2020; Map of Maryland's Lynching History, accessed August 27, 2020, mdlynchingmemorial.org/lynchings-in-maryland.

913 Thomas Juricks, Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), MSA SC 352—18090, Maryland State Archives, accessed August 27, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/html/18090bio.html.

into the woods before he too was tied and left at the edge of the woods. Pushing deeper into the woods, the lynch mob stopped under "a large white oak tree and a noose having been adjusted over a horizontal branch." A handcuffed Juricks was forced to stand up, but because the noosed rope was not long enough to reach his head, he was required to climb up on the driver's seat. After the noose was put around his neck, the wagon driven from under him. Because the victim jumped up and by causing the rope to slip, temporarily saving himself as his feet hit the ground. At that moment, one of the lynch mob jumped on the victim's shoulders to bear him down as the rest of the mob swung Juricks' body back and forth in order to strangle him to death. The entire lynch mob then formed into a firing line and shot a volley of bullets into Juricks' body.[914]

Thomas Juricks' dead body was left to swing from the lynching tree for two hours before a coroner's jury was sent to cut him down and simultaneously hold an inquest on the lynching. They returned a verdict of "death from hanging by unknown persons." The corpse was buried on Hatton Hill on the public road leading from Broad Creek to Piscataway. The location and the hanging were intended to serve as a warning tactic to communities nearby. The actions of a lynch mob near Fort Washington in Prince George's County were brought before the Grand Jury in October of 1869 but no one was brought to trial for Juricks' murder.[915]

OXON HILL, PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

John Henry Scott, Age: 23

March 3, 1875

Twenty-three-year-old John Henry Scott was a worker at Notley Hill estate nearly opposite Alexandria, VA near George Washington's Mt. Vernon. Scott had been living there with the well-respected Nelson family about a year. Scott was said to have shot himself after he allegedly raped Mrs. Nelson. After Scott had been accused, he was sent to the Marlboro jail. A local man deputized to transport Scott to the jail handed him over to what the newspaper reported as a multiracial mob of masked men. *The Baltimore Sun* article claimed at least one hundred people formed the mob. The article indicated that a similar lynching had occurred in the same community two years earlier, but the victim was not named.

914 "A Young Lady Outraged by a Negro," *New York Herald*, October 14, 1869, accessed August 24, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A11A050B7B120D3F8%40EANX-130B8AC9CC469400%402403985-130B8ACA17E1C118%402-130B8ACD31156630%40Legislative%2BActs%252FLegal%2BProceedings&firsthit=yes.

915 "A Young Lady Outraged by a Negro," *New York Herald*, October 14, 1869; "The Late Lynching in Maryland," *Flake's Weekly Galveston Bulletin*, (Galveston, Texas), October 30, 1869; Prince George's County (Coroner Inquests), October 12, 1869; Thomas Juricks (d. 1869) (Biographical Series) Archives of Maryland, accessed September 3, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/html/18090bio.html.

Scott was placed seated on a horse that was driven from under him and was hung from a black walnut tree. The victim was left hanging for several hours and a crowd was thwarted from roasting the body. As was so often the case, the coroner's jury concluded that "the deceased was hung by persons unknown by the jury,"[916]

UPPER MARLBORO, PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

Michael Green, Age: Unknown

September 1, 1878

For about a week, Michael Green had been lodged in the jail at Upper Marlboro, the county seat, before he was lynched on the evening of the Sabbath. Threats of lynching had been freely made and outraged citizens threatened assaults on the jail. On Sunday night around midnight, a band of masked men succeeded in using battering rams to force their way into the jail and burst open the door to the jail cell. The wordless entry was achieved using sledgehammers and crow bars.[917] The mob quickly overpowered the terrorized prisoner. "One of the lynchers, who appeared to be a blacksmith, advanced from the crowd, and with hammer and cold chisel soon freed" the heavily manacled prisoner him from his shackles.[918] Once freed from his shackles, a rope was thrown around the victim's neck. Green was taken to a grove at "the corner of Queen Anne's Road and Hills Lane where a cherry tree stood" about a mile north of Upper Marlboro.[919] Witnesses reported Green's desperate struggle as the noose around his neck was being repositioned. As in so many of these murders, the victim was made to pray. "The rope was thrown across one of the boughs of a tree" by the roadside "and the victim jerked fifteen feet from the ground," the rope was firmly tied, and Michael Green was hanged until he was dead. The body was still hanging there in the morning.[920]

According to one Maryland newspaper, "The lynchers were evidently of the best classes and their action seems to have met with unqualified approval of the

916 "Lynch Law in Maryland" *Baltimore Sun*, March 24, 1975, p. 1; "A Fiendish Crime, a Colored Man Lynched for Assaulting His Employer's Wife," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 24, 1875; John Henry Scott (African American), (Biographical Series), Archives of Maryland, accessed September 3, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013730/html/13730bio.html.

917 "Lynch Law in Prince George's," The aegis & intelligencer (Bel Air, MD), September 6, 1878, accessed September 15, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016107/1878-09-06/ed-1/seq-2/#date1=1878&index=1&date2=1879&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&words=Alice+Green+Lynch+lynching+Michael+Sweeney&proxdistance=5&state=&rows=20&ortext=Lynch%2A&proxtext=&phrasetext=Alice+Sweeney&andtext=Michael+Green&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1.

918 Ibid.

919 Michael Green, (Biographical Series), Archives of Maryland, accessed September 3, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013788/html/13788bio.html.

920 "Lynching in Upper Marlboro," *The Kent News*, September 7, 1878 (transcribed). Maryland State Archives, accessed August 14, 2020, https://genealogytrails.com/mary/princegeorges/news_crime.html.

entire community . . ."[921] After the corpse was discovered by the authorities the next morning and the body cut down, an inquest was held but "very little effort was made to ascertain the names of the lynching party, the hanging having been generally endorsed by the community and a verdict of 'Found hanged by parties unknown' was quickly rendered."[922]

A subsequent article in *The Sun*, condemning "a recent case of lynching in Prince George's county" referred to the death of Green. The article continued, "Public opinion in Maryland is bitterly opposed to all such exhibitions of mob law and refuses to find any justification for the violence which takes the law into its own hands, even in the exceptionally revolting and atrocious circumstances of the crime committed by the [N]egro Green."[923] Michael Green's body was laid to rest outside the Upper Marlboro jailhouse on the west lawn which was to be the burial place for a subsequent lynching victim. Further research will be required to determine his age.

UPPER MARLBORO, PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

Joseph Vermillion, Age 27

December 3, 1889

The lynching of Joe Vermillion received wide newspaper coverage. He was a five feet five inch, twenty-seven-year-old man said to have had extraordinary courage. His family had been harassed prior to the lynching. Vermillion's seventy-three-year-old father had been tied to a tree, his furniture was removed from his home and then his log cabin set ablaze by "a band of unknown men known as "White Caps." [924] White Caps were known regionally in Maryland and Virginia for com-

921 "Lynch Law in Prince George's."

922 "Speedy Justice," *The Times*, New Bloomfield, PA, 4, September 10, 1878, accessed September 15, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn90069164/1878-09-10/ed-1/seq-4/#date1=1878&index=0&rows=20&words=Green+lynched+Michael&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1879&proxtext=%22Michael+Green%22+lynch&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1.

923 "No Justification for Lynch Law," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), September 5, 1878, 2, accessed August 24, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=1&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-116E5E4CB75B5F18%402407233-116E5E4D0C11A538%401-116E5E4E67B04740%40No%2BJustification%2Bfor%2BLynch%2BLaw&firsthit=yes.

924 "The Prince George's County Lynching," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), December 4, 1889, 2, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=5&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-117108787307C438%402411341-11710878CEA3B228%403-1171087A2C7A7D68%40The%2BPrince%2BGeorge%2527s%2BCounty%2BLynching&firsthit=yes; "'White Cap' Crimes. They Lead to a Lynching in Maryland. . .," *The Salt Lake Weekly Tribune* (Salt Lake City, Utah), December 5, 1889, 1, accessed August 24, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/

mitting "extralegal acts of violence targeting Blacks and other groups, carried out by vigilantes, often farmers, under cover of night or disguise." The name derived from the hoods by which the group came to be identified. According to Gladys-Marie Fry, the robe was black and only the hood portion was white. This earlier group appears to have preceded and then merged with the Ku Klux Klan.[925] Vermillion's father was only untied when he promised to leave the neighborhood. This, according to historian Nell Painter, is an example of driving out and white-capping which occurred in places where minorities owned property, land and businesses and were targeted.[926]

Police arrested Joseph Vermillion on suspicion of arson for the burning of several barns on November 23, 1889, suspecting retaliation.[927] A week later, despite warnings, the sixty-five-year-old jailkeeper at the local jail on Main Street opened the door and was overtaken by the well-masked and armed lynch mob around 2:30 in the morning. One report says they stormed the jail. After a blood-soaked struggle in front of Vermillion's brothers who had also been arrested on the charge of arson and were in the same jail, a mob of 40 horsemen dragged Joseph down the steps, out of the jail and into the street. The victim continued to struggle even though his hands and feet were bound. "He fought hard for his life."[928]

The lynch mob, many on horseback, dragged Vermillion "through the main streets of town." Vermillion cries and protest as he was dragged along the public road a quarter of a mile through town awakened sleeping residents who looked out their windows to learn the cause of the noise. He was hanged, his legs still shackled, from the red iron bridge that spans Patuxent between the railroad station and the town of Marlboro. " . . . [T]he old-time punishment was meted out without the intervention of the jury . . ." Vermillion's half naked—bare to the waist—"horribly mangled body" was "torn by the stones of the road along which the man had been

v2%3A11A2464BB96AE5F8%40EANX-11A7862C6DA2C128%402411342-11A6EBF724BE2890%400-1212511CD4F7B384%40%2522White%2BCap%2522%2BCrimes.%2BThey%2BLead%2Bto%2Ba%2BLynching%2Bin%2BMaryland.%2BThieving%2BTrainmen%2BIn%2BOhio&firsthit=yes.

925 Fry, 160-61. She specifically named Virginia for this practice but did not name Maryland.

926 Painter, "The Flames of Racial Hatred."

927 "Lynching of a Firebug," *The Evening Star*, (Washington, D. C.), December 3, 1889, 1, accessed August 24, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=5&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13EA4F06E7E224E0%402411340-13EA3CD6CAD7CD78%400-13EA3CD6CAD7CD78%40&firsthit=yes; "Lynched by a Mob," *The Evening News*, (San Jose, CA), December 3, 1889, 2, accessed August 24, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=5&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A11342729F00F3900%40EANX-113712FC23F0A730%402411340-113712FC85B7F188%402-113712FDF9E44C18%40Lynched%2Bby%2Ba%2BMob&firsthit=yes.

928 "Lynching of a Firebug."

dragged;" his back was hacked. The rope had been "tied into a perfect hangman's knot." The body was left hanging for five hours from one of the bridge's top lengthwise bars until 7 p.m. "Passers-by stopped and gazed at the corpse, but only for a moment." [929]

Joseph Vermillion was buried at the jailhouse yard as his distraught brothers watched from the windows of the jail. He was buried next to Michael Green, who had been lynched there eleven years earlier. The names of four of the lynching mob were given over to officers and arrest warrants were planned. A $500 reward was offered by the county commissioners for "any evidence leading to the arrest and conviction of the party or parties connected with the lynching of Joseph Vermillion.[930] As was generally the case, the jury concluded that Vermillion "had met his, 'death by lynching by parties unknown to the jury,'" although the jailer thought he recognized one among the lynch mob and Vermillion's brother was "almost certain" that he knew four or five among the lynchers, specially one of the men that he had once worked for.[931]

UPPER MARLBORO, PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

Stephen Williams, Age: Unknown

October 20, 1894

Stephen Williams of Upper Marlboro, who was allegedly bitten by the family dog during the attack of his victim on the night of October 17, 1894. After the assault, Williams was found and arrested. He confessed during the preliminary hear-

929 "An Incendiary Lynched," *The Sun*, (Baltimore, MD), December 7, 1889, p. 2; "Joe Vermillion's Body. Cut down from the Bridge Where He Was Hanged. . ." *The Sun*, (Baltimore, MD), December 4, 1889.

930 $500 Reward for Vermillion's Lynchers," *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., December 23, 1889, 5, accessed August 24, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13EA4F10029F6300%402411360-13EA3CD7572EFF60%404-13EA3CD7572EFF60%40&firsthit=yes.

931 "The Marlboro' Lynching," *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., December 4, 1889, 1; Jonathan Pitts Lynchings in Maryland, Baltimore Sun, n.d. https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings/; "The Marlboro' Lynching Disapproved," *The Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.), December 9, 1889, 8, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13EA4F08FB0A3A30%402411346-13EA3CD6F9395678%407-13EA3CD6F9395678%40&firsthit=yes; Joe Vermilion's Body. Cut down from the Bridge Where He Was Hanged. . ., *The Sun*, Baltimore, MD, December 4, 1889, 4, accessed August 24, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-117108787307C438%402411341-11710878F70FB7E8%405-1171087A8A0133F8%40Joe%2BVermillion%2527s%2BBody.%2BCut%2Bdown%2Bfrom%2Bthe%2BBridge%2BWhere%2BHe%2BWas%2BHanged.%2BHow%2Bthe%2BLynchers&firsthit=yes.

ing. The lynch mob approached the home of the Warden saying that they had a prisoner that needed to be jailed and asked for the keys but were initially thwarted. The mob moved over to the back door of the jailhouse where Williams was being held, about two blocks away. The mob broke up the bricks around the foundation of the double iron door with iron locks using a sledgehammer. No one intervened during the more than an hour it took to gain access to the building and break the jail locks. After the lynchers dragged Williams from under a mattress, the masked mob put a noose around his neck and dragged him out of the cell by the rope and out to the jail yard.[932] In less than five minutes from the time of being seized, the rope was thrown over the bridge beam and Williams was hanged from the same iron bridge where Joe Vermillion had been lynched five years earlier. A volley of shots was fired into the still hanging body.[933] When the jury term of the circuit court of Prince George's County, MD convened in April of 1895, Judge Briscoe specifically directed the grand jury's attention to the lynching of Stephen Williams on October 20 and requested that they investigate the murder. Justice James Harris held an inquest and rendered the verdict that "Stephen Williams came to is death by hanging and by being shot by parties unknown." As with previous lynchings in Prince George's County, the body was buried in the jail yard.[934]

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Maryland ranked low among Southern states in lynchings, and Montgomery county witnessed three lynchings between 1880 and 1896. Two of those lynchings, one in Poolesville and one in Rockville, were within a six-month period between January and July 1880. George Washington Peck was the first of three men lynched in the county.[935] As was reported in the local county newspaper Sentinel, ". . . it must be confessed, the greater share of residents in that locality [Poolesville] are inclined to condone the work of lynchers . . ."[936] *The New York Times* observed

932 "State of Maryland: Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George's County," The Baltimore Sun, October 22, 1894, accessed September 3, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013742/images/sun22oct1894.pdf; "Another Lynching," Omaha World-Herald (Omaha, Nebraska), October 21, 1894, 13, accessed August 24, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=10&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A1106B5BBD4B623A8%40EANX-116DFF7C2F4FEC58%402413123-116DFF7D86DD9D38%4012-116DFF81E76E1DC0%40Another%2BLynching.%2BMasked%2BMen%2BBreak%2Binto%2Bthe%2BJail%2Band%2BLynch%2Ba%2BColored%2BMan%2Bfor%2Ban%2BAttempted%2BAssault&firsthit=yes.

933 Jonathan Pitts, Lynchings in Maryland, *Baltimore Sun*, n.d., accessed August 24, 2020, https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings/.

934 "State of Maryland: Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George's County." *The Baltimore Sun*, 22 October 1894. Accessed September 3, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013742/images/sun22oct1894.pdf.

935 Montgomery County, Maryland, Historical Chronology, Maryland Manual On-Line, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/36loc/mo/chron/html/mochron.html; "The Story of George Peck (c. 1858-1880), Montgomery History, accessed September 6, 2020, https://montgomeryhistory.org/lynchings-in-montgomery-county/lynchings-george-peck/.

936 "Attempted Rape and Lynch Law," *Sentinel* (Montgomery County, Maryland), January

that Poolesville, Montgomery County showed that the "region of the State, near the Potomac, about 35 miles from the National Capital" demonstrated its agitation by a crime and its subsequent "lawless punishment."[937] An observation in a *Baltimore Sun* editorial, could well-apply to all the lynchings detailed in this report: "Whenever it is sought to be justified or palliated . . . it is upon the ground of some special circumstances of *peculiar provocation or atrocity* and upon assumption that all general rules have their exceptions, and that this particular case is an exceptional one. It is very apparent that the case in Montgomery county has no such exceptional features."[938] In taking issue with the editorial, the Montgomery county *Sentinel* offered justification for the acts of its residents, "While we believe that in most cases of this character that it is better to let the law take its course, yet there are some cases so enormous, so revolting to human nature that outraged public sentiment and indignation are only conciliated and allayed by the execution of swift summary justice." The rebuttal continues, "This mode of metting out justice to such a miscreant when there is no doubt of his identity, will be commended by a large majority of law-abiding citizens. . . The men who take the law in their own hands under each circumstance, are not identified in any way with the lawless element of the community, but are respectable, conscientious men . . . [939]

POOLESVILLE, MONTGOMERY COUNTY

George W. Peck, Age: 21

January 10, 1880

George Washington Peck had been born into slavery in 1858 and lived in the Poolesville/Bealsville area for the entire twenty-one years of his life. In January of 1880 he was accused of attempted assault according to the *Montgomery County Sentinel* but was foiled and arrested on a Saturday morning in Beallsville by County Constable Hugh Miles.[940] A Baptist minister, Rev. R. Amy, to whom the alleged victim told her story, had a revolver with him and "could hardly refrain" from shooting Peck "on the spot." Rev. Amy then notified Peck's employer and a messenger was instantly sent off to Poolesville requesting an officer be sent. Initially, Peck made no attempt to leave but as word spread and a mob began forming, Peck attempted to flee. He was eventually surrounded, handcuffed and chained. Officer Miles transported Peck to the Odd Fellow's Hall two miles away in Poolesville where

12, 1880, accessed September 6, 2020, http://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Sentinel_9-12-1880_Peck-red.pdf.

937 "A Negro's Swift Punishment." *New York Times*, January 13, 1880, accessed September 6, 2020, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/A_NEGROS_SWIFT_PUNISHMENT._L.pdf.

938 "Lynch-Law In Montgomery County," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), January 14, 1880, 2, accessed September 23, 2020, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Sun_01-14-1880.pdf.

939 "Lynch Law," *Sentinel* (response to the Sun editorial))Montgomery County, Maryland), January 16, 1880, accessed September 6, 2020, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Sentinel_01-16-1880.pdf.

940 "The Story of George Peck."

the constable had intended to temporarily lodge his prisoner until Peck could be moved to the jail. The Constable originally intended to take Peck to the jail in Rockville.[941]

A large crowd of "excited men" began forming outside the Hall where they stayed for six hours until 11 at night as Constable Miles attempted to fend them off and the crowd eventually dwindled. Thinking it would be safer, the officer moved Peck from the Odd Fellow's Hall, to his own home about half a mile from Poolesville where he could guard his prisoner overnight and then intended to go onward to the Rockville jail. As Peck was being taken to the jail, the Constable made a sudden stop at a store in Poolesville to make a few purchases. There a horseman rode up and fired a pistol which appeared to have been a signal. About thirty to thirty-five men materialized "from different quarters" and swarmed the store, shouting "Lynch him! Lynch him!" The mob forced open the locked door and demanded Peck be turned over. The mob overpowered the officer and blindfolded him, injuring him in the process.[942]

"A few of the men wore masks, but most of them made no effort whatever to conceal their identity, and were easily recognized, nearly all of them being residents of Beallsville."[943] Since lynching is an act of premeditated murder, the lynchers always come prepared with a "already noosed rope" which they tied around Peck's neck before dragging him from the store and taking him across the road. The lynch mob threw Peck over a rail fence, dragged him across an open field to a locust tree about fifty yards in front of the Presbyterian church in the early Sunday morning hours.[944]

The rope was drawn through the fork of a locust tree limb several feet from the ground and then fastened to a fence post. "All hands drew him up about five feet above the ground and tied the rope to a fence near the tree."[945] The mob hanged the prisoner as he begged for mercy, beseeching the lynchers to spare his life. "His entreaties were of no avail with these stern and determined men," The Sun reported.[946] "The lynchers waited until they satisfied themselves that he was dead." Once

941 Ibid; "Lynch Law in Maryland," Special Dispatch to the *Baltimore Sun*, *The Sun* (Baltimore), January 13, 1810, accessed September 6, 2020, http://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Baltimore_Sun_Jan_13th-low_sized.pdf.

942 "Attempted Rape and Lynch Law," *Sentinel*.

943 Ibid.

944 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Special Dispatch to the *Baltimore Sun*.

945 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Special Correspondence of the Star, *Evening Star*, Washington, D. C.) January 13, 1810, accessed September 6, 2020, http://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Evening_Star_Mon__Jan_12__1880_crop.pdf.

946 George W. Peck, Lynchings in Maryland, The Sun (Baltimore), n.d., accessed September 6, 2020, https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings/.

the mob was certain that they had killed Peck, they fired "a few parting shots," at the suspended body.[947]

At 10 o'clock the next morning, officer Miles went out and cut down the body. It had hung directly across the street from the Poolesville Presbyterian Church in full sight "of persons passing along the road on their way to church" to "divine service." The body was taken to a nearby stable. Within two days, a hastily summoned jury held a short inquest. "No attempt was made to identify the lynchers, and a verdict was rendered that "George Peck came to his death by strangulation at the hands of parties unknown to the jury." The body was quietly buried in a field but was exhumed on the morning of January 17 by the African American community and given a proper burial in their church yard near the village.[948] As with several of the newspaper accounts concerning lynchings, the reports are often inconsistent, clearly racist, inflammatory and derogatory. The Montgomery County Sentinel called the lynching of George Washington Peck at the hands of county residents, a "summary vengeance."[949]

DARNESTOWN, MONTGOMERY COUNTY

John Diggs (also known as Dorsey), Age: Between 20 and 23

July 24, 1880

In the summer of 1880, John Diggs was living and working as a servant in Darnestown, Maryland. Less than six months after the lynching of George Peck, John Diggs was captured walking along a public road near Mechanicsville on July 24, 1880 after a two-day manhunt. Diggs had fled south toward Mechanicsville after his alleged assault. All of Montgomery County, had worked itself "up to the highest pitch." Several parties had been sent out in all directions after Diggs had fled and it was "generally understood that whichever party" caught him, that he would be lynched "without delay" and that "vengeance should be swift and certain."[950] After rumors of his capture, several expectant crowds "with a rope in readiness" formed with each arriving train.

947 "Attempted Rape and Lynch Law," Sentinel; "MARYLAND JUSTICE," *National Republican* (Washington, D. C.), accessed September 6, 2020, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Sd_Natl-Rep_13-January-1880.pdf; "Lynch Law in Maryland," Special Dispatch to the *Baltimore Sun*.

948 "Lynch Law in Maryland," *Register* (Shepherdstown, WV), January 17, 1880, accessed September 6, 2020, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Sentinel_01-16-1880.pdf.

949 Ibid.

950 "The Montgomery County Outrage Case," *The Sun*, July 27, 1880 (Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun), https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013900/013949/images/the_montgomery_county_outrage_case_sun27jul1880.pdf accessed September 10, 2020; "Terrible Outrage—A Maryland Lady Brutally Assaulted—Search for the Assailant. Etc., *The Sun* (Baltimore), (Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun), July 26, 1880, accessed September 6, 2020, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/7-26-1880_Terrible_Outrage-A_Maryland_L.pdf.

Following his alleged crime, Diggs was transported twenty miles to the jail in Rockville, the county seat. A courier was dispatched "post haste" to inform James Tschiffely, the alleged victim's husband, that Diggs had been arrested. The lynching had been delayed by a message from Tschiffely, who asked that the hanging wait until he could reach the place.[951] Plans were halted in order to comply with his request. The following Tuesday, the husband of the alleged victim along with several others from Darnestown arrived in Rockville and quickly organized the mob of 40 men that marched in formation to the jailhouse where Diggs was being held.[952] As one newspaper reported, "There was not the slightest attempt at concealment, it not being deemed necessary, as the verdict of the entire community, man, woman and child, was:--"Death to the ravisher."[953] A farmer let the crowd know that he had come prepared with a new coil of rope and another wealthy farmer stepped forward to lead the gang. Reporters for Washington and papers from other cities camped out near the jail, "awaiting the tragedy which would surely be enacted."[954]

Although the sheriff refused the would-be lynchers entrance, he and his four deputies were overpowered by the pack as they grabbed the keys. The remainder of the mob stormed the jail and forced open Diggs' cell. Still wearing leg-irons, he was brought out of the jailhouse, but he managed to put up a fight as he was "marched through the lane to a winding road which led to the Darnestown road" about a mile outside town on Route 28 toward a waiting horse and the noose. The lynch mob reached a farm, about "two hundred yards from the outskirts of Rockville and about halfway to Watts' Branch, a small stream of water which runs across the road and which is spanned by a wooden bridge."[955]

---

951 "Judge Lynch," *The Daily Gazette* (Wilmington, Del.), July 28, 1880, accessed September 12, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014805/1880-07-28/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=1879&index=0&rows=20&words=Diggs+John&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1881&proxtext=John+Diggs+&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1.

952 "Lynch Law in Maryland," *The Sun* (Baltimore), July 27, 1880, accessed September 13, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=1&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=1879%20-%201881&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22John%20Diggs%22&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-11710E16600C5C68%402407925-11710E1672016440%400-11710E16EFDE5948%40Lynch%2BLaw%2Bin%2BMaryland.%2BRockville%252C%2BMd.%252C%2BJuly%2B27%252C%2B1880&firsthit=yes.

953 "Judge Lynch," *The Daily Gazette* (Wilmington, Del.), July 28, 1880.

954 "A BRUTAL NEGRO LYNCHED: TAKEN FROM A MARYLAND JAIL AND HANGED," New York Times, July 28, 1880, accessed September 13, 2020, https://search-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/docview/93795824/BCA73AA9C03D4882PQ/2?accountid=14696.

955 Ibid.; "Shocking Outrage by a Negro Man"; "Lynched," *The Star Democrat* (Easton, MD), August 10, 1880; "Telegraphic Summary," *The Baltimore Sun*, July 28, 1880 as cited in "John Diggs (d. 1880)," (Biographical Series), Archives of Maryland; "The Story of John Diggs-Dorsey (b 1856-1860; d. 1880) Montgomery History, accessed September 6, 2020, https://montgomeryhistory.org/lynchings-in-montgomery-county/lynchings-john-diggs-dorsey/.

About 3:40 a.m., when "no person [was] awake in town to tell the tale," the largely undisguised gang of angry white men took Diggs to a cherry tree a mile from the jail and placed the noose around his neck, as they urged him to confess.[956] "All you can do is hang me," he replied, according to the *Times*. "What's the use of saying anything? You will hang me anyhow."[957]

As the ruffians pinioned his arms which had been left free until that point, Diggs was able to turn on his captors. He succeeded in knocking one of them down and then quickly seized another by the throat and chocking him to the point of near helplessness. As the fighting escalated after Diggs managed to disable several members, the outraged lynch mob overpowered him "and nearly beat him to death." Diggs' arms were then tied behind him. The barely conscious man was at first lifted onto the horse which was not successful in accomplishing the aims of the lynchers, and then hoisted up by his neck as the mob tried to coerce Diggs into admitting to the assault as he was accused of "the standard excuse for almost all lynchings in the South, rape and defilement of a white woman."[958]

Just before the execution, someone stepped forward to offer a short prayer. Accounts differ from newspaper to newspaper. One says that the mob formed a circle and took an oath on their way to the lynching. Four men held Diggs while the noose was placed around his neck. Since the horse was not effective in the lynching, the men lent their own strength and physically pulled the lynching rope that strangled Diggs. Another reports that as Diggs was strangled on the branch of the tree, an unidentified leader of the lynching led the mob in a pledge, "I do solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God that I will never reveal the names of those present, or disclose what was done here this day."[959] A second newspaper reports the oath as "we do solemnly swear never to divulge under any pretense or for any cause whatever, in any court of this State, whom we see or what we see here tonight, so help us God; amen." The mob repeated those words in unison and then dispersed.[960] As was often the practice, the body was left hanging. Only one half of the mob had bothered to obscure their faces with handkerchiefs or masks and despite the known participation of the alleged victim's husband during the lynching, the coroner's jury was summoned to the site of the still hanging body came to the unanimous verdict that Diggs' murder was "death by strangulation at the hands of parties unknown."[961] The body was cut down in the presence of three or four

956 "The Montgomery County Outrage Case."
957 "A BRUTAL NEGRO LYNCHED: TAKEN FROM A MARYLAND JAIL AND HANGED," *New York Times*, July 28, 1880; Meyer, "Once Upon a Time in Montgomery County."
958 Meyer, "Once Upon a Time in Montgomery County."
959 "Judge Lynch."
960 "Shocking Outrage"
961 "Judge Lynch."

hundred gawkers. An hour after the lynching, several hundred African American residents gathered around the cherry tree to retrieve John Digg's body.[962]

ROCKVILLE, MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Sidney Randolph, Age: Unknown

July 4, 1896

The Baltimore Sun reported: "Early on the morning of May 25, someone entered the home of Richard Buxton, a prominent citizen, and attacked his family — including his wife and two daughters, Maude, 16, and Sadie, 7 — with an axe. Mrs. Buxton spied a Black man fleeing, and suspicion fell on two men: Randolph, who didn't know the family, and George Neale, who had once threatened to kill Buxton."[963]

Neale left town but twenty-eight-year-old Randolph was tried. On July 4, 1896, after a jury found him guilty, a mob of ten or twelve white men forced their way into the Rockville jail after shoving a revolver in the face of the jailer, who was known by the lynchers. They demanded the keys. Around 2 that morning, the marauding mob of whites, "wearing handkerchiefs around their faces and heads, and were otherwise disguised" seized Randolph. A false mustache was later found in the jail cell. Once seized, Randolph was struck over the head; his face was beaten. Bleeding copiously and pleading for mercy, he was dragged two hundred yards from the jail cell a waiting spring wagon on a private road. He was driven by a circuitous route to a Chestnut tree where a huge crowd awaited.

Despite Randolph's pleas, the lynchers hung him from a small chestnut tree in the woods off Frederick Road, now Route 355, in the historic Black neighborhood of Lincoln Park. According to the newspaper account, "His struggles were terrible, but he died in ten minutes, and then hung motionless, with his feet but three feet from the ground. His body was found at 8:30 a.m. and was still hanging when the magistrate and impaneled jurymen went to investigate later that morning. When they arrived, there was an "immense crowd . . . a motley throng. Farmers in their wagons, summer boarders in carriages, men women and boys in vehicles, on horseback, on bicycles and on foot were massed in a great circle surrounding the body." He had been lynched a mere ten feet from the public road and was hanging in full view of all who passed by. His clothing and the trampled nearby bushes were evidence of his tremendous, final desperate struggle for his life. After the body was finally cut down, the rope was immediately seized, and men eagerly

962 "John Diggs (d. 1880", (Biographical Series), Archives of Maryland, accessed September 6, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013900/013949/html/13949bio.html.

963 Jonathan Pitts, Lynchings in Maryland, *Baltimore Sun*, n.d. accessed September 6, 2020, https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings/.

jostled for cut sections of the hanging rope to keep as "ghastly mementoes" of the carefully planned lynching.[964] Sydney Randolph is buried in an unmarked grave under what is now the Montgomery County Detention Center.[965]

A report from Rockville called the lynching a "shameful affair."[966] When the Montgomery County commissioners met in Rockville later in November to give its report of the grand jury which concluded, "Our sheriff having been censured in regard to the lynching of Sidney Randolph, we wish to express our regrets for such injustice and fully exonerate both him and his jailer from all accusations or blame in the matter."[967] The reporter who researched the crime reported that during his research in 2018, a search for "Sidney Randolph" or "lynching" in the online database of Peerless Rockville, the city's nonprofit historic preservation organization, yielded nothing about the incident.[968]

POINT OF ROCKS, FREDERICK COUNTY

James Carroll, Age: Unknown

April 17, 1879

According to the *Baltimore Sun*, James Carroll was accused of "outraging" a female at Licksville (now a community known as Tuscarora) in southern Frederick County. Carroll was captured in Georgetown in Washington, D. C. and put on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at the Washington station headed for Frederick. The "vigilant" search for Carroll had lasted several days as "men left their labor and scoured the country night and day in the hope of capturing" their prey. After a telegram was sent that Carroll had been captured, a messenger rapidly spread the news "to the neighbors in the county." As the news spread of Carroll's impending arrival, a number of farmers gathered around the Point of Rocks depot. Somewhere between 125 and 150 men, on horseback and on foot, with some African Americans reported in the crowd, gathered near the depot.[969]

964 "Randolph Lynched," *The Evening Star*, July 4. 1896, 1, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/19778286/sidney_randolph_lynched/ accessed September 6, 2020.

965 Pitts, "Lynching in Maryland."

966 "A Shameful Affair: The Last Man Lynched in Montgomery County, Md," *The Washington Post*, August 22, 2018, 3.

967 "Rockville," *The Evening Star*, (Washington, D. C.), November 27, 1896, 15.

968 Randolph Lynched, *Evening Star*, July 4. 1896, 1, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/19778286/sidney_randolph_lynched/ accessed September 6, 2020; Meyer, "Once Upon a Time."

969 "The Point of Rocks Lynching," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), April 19, 1879, 1, accessed September 23, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22James%20Carroll%22%20lynching&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-1171124A617EF380%402407459-1171124A866665B0%401-1171124B5F2046E8%40The%2BPoint%2Bof%2BRocks%2BLynching.%2BParticulars%2Bof%2Bthe%2BSummary%2BExecution%2B-%2BScene%2Bof%2Bthe%2BTragedy%2B-%2BRemoval&firsthit=yes.

Although several men had boarded the train four miles outside Point of Rocks at Tuscarora, none revealed their ultimate intentions. While John Carroll was being transported the train stopped at Point of Rocks to allow an east-bound train to pass. Crowds of people—perhaps 50 men—boarded the train from both sides during the stopover. Estimate of the size of the crowd varied from dozens to hundreds depending on the newspaper account. At this point, about twelve or fifteen men entered the car where Carroll and his guards were sitting. The men seized Carroll and dragged him out of the car and onto the train platform but not without a struggle. Carroll attempted to grab onto parts of the train in an effort to forestall his execution and not be pulled out of the car. Immediately the crowd produced a rope, tied "with an ordinary noose," which was placed around his neck. He was nearly choked to death as he was dragged to the ground. By now it was pouring rain and Carroll, still handcuffed, was dragged across the tracks and up a steep and by now muddy hill.[970]

The *Baltimore Sun* referred to "the cool and deliberate manner in which the preparations were made for the lynching, and the summary mode in which the prisoner was dealt with, showed a determination on the part of the residents of the county not to wait for the slower verdict of the law." But the mob was also described as besieging, in a great rush and falling over each other and that there was much excitement in the execution if not in the planning. The rope broke at this juncture but that was no deterrent. The rope was repaired and " . . . a hundred willing hands dragged the half dead [N]egro until they reached a thicket of trees on the brow of the hill" at Sugarloaf. The husband of the alleged victim was present in the lynch mob and tried to stab Carroll but was thwarted. None of the lynchers, "law-abiding citizens, with wives, sisters and children who needed their protection," bothered with wearing a mask since they were neither ashamed nor afraid. *The New York Times* reporting of the lynching, however, states that the mob wore masks, but this may be an invention based on customary behavior rather than fact.[971] This time, it was a walnut tree that received the rope and was the instrument of James Carroll's execution at the hands of Frederick's citizens. Carroll was still alive twelve minutes after he was hanged, and his torture lasted a total of fifteen minutes before he died.[972]

"Then began a scramble for mementoes of the hanging," twigs, scraps of clothing—the little finger of his left hand—whatever could be taken. After 35 minutes, the crowd dispersed but curious onlookers came to the site through the night and into the morning. No one touched the body during the wait for the coroner to

970 Ibid.
971 "HANGED BY MASKED MEN," *New York Times*, April 18, 1879, 1.
972 Ibid.

arrive. Difficulty was anticipated in obtaining a jury since, "almost every man in the neighborhood had lent a hand in the lynching" and "not a man could be met with who denied his connection in the matter."[973] The police officers assigned to guarding Carroll reported that "the best and wealthiest farmers of Frederick and Montgomery counties, Md., and Loudoun county Va. Directed and took part in the lynching . . . "[974]

Even if the victim had been successfully transported to the Frederick City jail, the newspaper reported, "there were 500 men armed ready to tear or burn down the building and capture the ravisher."[975] The coroner had the body cut down and taken in a cart to the livery stables of Charles E. Mealey on All Saints Street in Frederick. *The Baltimore Sun* observed: "In as much as the names of quite a number of those who participated in the lynching are known, and others can be easily obtained, it is believed that the State's attorney and jurors will consider it incumbent upon them to make the investigation as searching as possible." The rope was still around Carroll's neck when doctor opened the coffin to examine the body. James Carroll's body was buried in the burial ground connected with the Montevue Hospital, the county's almshouse about two miles from the town.[976] *The Evening Star* reported that Carroll's crime "make this as nearly a justifiable case of

973 Ibid.

974 "The Point of Rocks Lynching. The Body Vied by the Jury of Inquest," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), April 21, 1879, 4, accessed September 23, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22James%20Carroll%22%20lynching&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-11711285C5E76210%402407461-1171128620D10BF8%403-11711287035F9238%40The%2BPoint%2Bof%2BRocks%2BLynching.%2BThe%2BBody%2BVied%2Bby%2Bthe%2BJury%2Bof%2BInquest%2B-%2BPreparations%2Bfor&firsthit=yes.

975 "The Point of Rocks Lynching," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), April 19, 1879; "HANGED ON SUGAR LOAF: Sergt. Volkman's Vivid Recollection of a lynching," *The Washington Post*, Mar 23, 1896, 3, accessed July 24, 2019, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/143754587/E58F3A6BFD834FADPQ/37?accountid=14696.

976 "The Point of Rocks Lynching. Verdict of the Coroner's Jury," *The Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.) April 21, 1879, 1, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22James%20Carroll%22%20lynching&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13DCD68B8AB178F8%402407461-13DCBBC2F292BF30%400-13DCBBC2F292BF30%40&firsthit=yes, accessed September 23, 2020; "THE LAST OF THE LYNCHING: A Convenient Verdict Rendered Over Carroll's Body," *The Washington Post*, April 19, 1879, p. 1; The Point of Rocks Lynching. The Body Vied by the Jury of Inquest, *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), April 21, 1879, 4, accessed September 23, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22James%20Carroll%22%20lynching&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-11711285C5E76210%402407461-1171128620D10BF8%403-11711287035F9238%40The%2BPoint%2Bof%2BRocks%2BLynching.%2BThe%2BBody%2BVied%2Bby%2Bthe%2BJury%2Bof%2BInquest%2B-%2BPreparations%2Bfor&firsthit=yes; Dean Herrin, "The 'Mob Fairly Howled': Lynching in Frederick County, Maryland, 1879-1895," March 2020.

lynching as can well be conceived, and yet the act of the lynchers is one that will bring no credit upon the people of Maryland."[977]

FREDERICK, FREDERICK COUNTY

John H. Biggus, or Bigus, Age:19 years old reported as 23 years old

Nov. 23, 1887

The (Frederick) *Daily News* reported on the arrest of John Biggus or Bigus for allegedly assaulting a white woman which left "emotions stirred among the white community, and tensions flared between Blacks and whites." The publicity the attack received drew a large crowd to the hearing in front of the magistrate's office which had to be moved to the basement of the Courthouse and then back to the magistrate's office. After a positive identification from the alleged victim, Biggus was formally arrested and transferred to the city jail on South Street to reckon with the grand jury's decision about putting him on trial. A gang of men and boys congregated at the jail later that evening around 11 p.m. on a Monday. The mob put out the streetlights near the jail but, alerted that the police were on their way, they dispersed. Extra men were assigned to guard the jail. Newspaper sensationalism may have contributed to the heightened excitement.[978]

At 10 p.m. the following night, a growing mob surrounded the jail, some on horseback. The mask wearing lynchers came from "Point of Rocks, Licksville, New Market and other county towns" in addition to Frederick. Unlike other lynch mobs, the Frederick mob did attempt to disguise themselves beyond the wearing of masks. They turned their coats inside out and took other steps to hide their identities. Despite the sheriff using the best locks he could find to fortify the jail doors, an armed and well-organized white mob of somewhere between 100 to 150 men gathered outside the jail demanding the keys and Biggus.[979]

The axe, and other tools in addition to the rope apparently came from the United Fire Company's engine house on Market Street, a few blocks away. The sheriff had confidence in the new locks, but the mob came equipped to break into the city jail and the sheriff never used the telephone to call for help.

On November 23, 1887, at around 1:30 a.m. on the day before Thanksgiving, a masked mob raided the prison in Frederick and battered down the door to the

977 "News Article," *Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., April 18, 1879, accessed September 23, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22James%20Carroll%22%20lynching&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13DCD68A7079A718%402407458-13DCBBC2E01E1F48%401-13DCBBC2E01E1F48%40&firsthit=yes.

978 Herrin, "The 'Mob Fairly Howled.'"

979 Ibid.

basement. Once the mob gained access to the jail, they quickly found Biggus, broke the lock and attempted to put a noose around his neck. Biggus put up a fierce fight before he was overpowered by three men. The mob removed Biggus and took him westward on South Street onto Jefferson Pike and then to the front of the farmhouse that had been the accuser's childhood home. Lynchers seized John H. Bigus who maintained his innocence. Bigus asked if he could pray before being hanged and the gang allowed him to do so. The mob hung Biggus from a locust tree on the east side of the road outside George Rider's Jefferson Heights home about a quarter of a mile from where Biggus had been jailed. His arms had been tied behind his back and when the rope came untied, he reached to take the noose from around his neck and fought desperately for his life. After hanging Biggus, the mob continued their violent rampage by shooting him three times.[980] Biggus's father came to Frederick from Woodville to claim his son's body for burial in the Methodist Church cemetery.[981]

The next day, the *Daily News* reported, "The members of the colored population have been very fierce today in their threats against the white people . . . A great deal of foolish incendiary talk has been indulged in by them."[982] Frederick's African American community was so disgusted by the lynching of Biggus that they threatened to harm the Sheriff, Luther Derr, who Blacks thought had not properly protected Biggus from the lynch mob. Blacks also sent anonymous notes to several well-known citizens who were implicated in the murder, warning them that their lives were in danger. At least 400 or 500 people gathered to protest as they marched in the streets of Frederick carrying heavy sticks. The mayor called out the Frederick Riflemen, a militia organization, to guard the jail and the sheriff's residence. Details of twenty muskets each guarded the four roads leading into town to prevent any more African Americans from the city. Biggus would not be the last person lynched at the site.[983]

980 Ibid; "Report names Maryland among non-Southern states with most lynchings," *Frederick News-Post*, July 6, 2017, accessed September 22, 2020, https://www.fredericknewspost.com/news/social_issues/report-names-maryland-among-non-southern-states-with-most-lynchings/article_0f7a07e0-4d6b-546e-adf8-bd4396d5da35.html; "A Lynching at Frederick, Md.," *The Washington Post*, Nov 24, 1887, 1, accessed July 24, 2019, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/138051693/95D647AF87894E44PQ/1?accountid=14696.

981 "The Frederick Lynching," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), November 24, 1887, 4, accessed September 23, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=54&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=lynching%20frederick%20&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-117107F3E19D2DC8%402410600-117107F4A600B2E0%405-117107F6CE715788%40The%2BFrederick%2BLynching&firsthit=yes; Herrin, "The 'Mob Fairly Howled.'"

982 Jonathan Pitts, Lynchings in Maryland, *Baltimore Sun*, n.d. accessed July 24. 2019, https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings/; "The Lynching Case," *The Daily News*, November 25, 1887.

983 "TO AVENGE A LYNCHING.: Hundreds of Negroes Crying Out for a Sheriff's Blood," *The Boston Daily Globe*, Nov 29, 1887, accessed September 13, 2020, https://search-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/docview/493479283/7ED845DC89F40D9PQ/1?accountid=14696; "DETERMINED TO AVENGE BIGUS: The Negroes in Frederick Marching

FREDERICK, FREDERICK COUNTY

James Bowens, Age: 23

November 17, 1895

The last lynching in Frederick also took place just before Thanksgiving but in 1895. James H. Bowens', also known as James Goins, alleged crime took place one mile south of Frederick on a Saturday afternoon. Bowens, described in the Frederick News as "a 23-year-old colored man of bad reputation," was accused of assaulting a white woman. Exaggerated rumors of the condition of the alleged victim circulated among the men and boys of Frederick, escalating an already volatile situation.[984]

Bowens had been housed in the county jail. The mob first attacked the jail door on the west side of the building and began battering it down but were the confronted by a heavy door on the inside with lock and hinges on the inside of the door and so redirected their attention to a basement door below. It took about thirty minutes for the unmasked mob, armed with revolvers and knives to break into the jail using sledges, crowbars and files stolen from a local blacksmith's shop on All Saints Street. Four heavy doors and five massive locks had to be smashed to get to the victim. The heavy iron cell door was swung open. James Bowens was shot in the leg during the melee and taken from the Frederick county jail by a mob of about four hundred men as he pleaded for his life.[985]

Less organized than other lynchings, the crowd soon discovered that it lacked the requisite rope. This was resolved by using the rope from an electric lamp near the jail. Once they reached the street, a rope was put around Bowens' neck. "Amid shouts and yells of delight," Bowens was led out down South Street as the mob fired pistols into the night air before turning off South Street onto Jefferson Pike. By 1:30 a.m. Sunday, a mob of 400 men took Bowens to the field of Kennedy Butler farm on the east side of Jefferson Turnpike where he was lynched—hanged him from a locust tree in a wheat field "nearly opposite to the spot" where John Biggus had been lynched in 1887. Bowens had been shot in the temple which probably killed him. Just before the execution, two Salvation Army officers, one of whom had first pleaded with the mob in front of the jail, stepped forward and recited the Lord's prayer which both Bowen and the mob repeated.[986]

---

the Streets with Arms in Their Hands," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 29, 1887, accessed September 13, 2020, https://search-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/docview/174058471/7ED845DC89F40D9PQ/2?accountid=14696.

984 "Lynched," *Frederick News*, Nov. 18, 1895.

985 "By a Maddened Mob. James Bowens, Colored, Lynched at Frederick," *Baltimore Sun*, Nov 18, 1895, 2, accessed March 23, 2021, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/20368901/frederick-md-lynching-baltimore-sun-nov/.

986 Ibid.

As Sunday morning of the Thanksgiving holiday dawned and the news quickly spread, "hundreds of men, women and children flocked to the scene of the execution and viewed with morbid curiosity every feature connected with the case. The locust tree from which the [N]egro hung, one stocking off; the jail, every place the mob had been the people thronged, and they kept it up until late in the evening." It was not until 9:15 [at night] that the undertakers, "cut the body down, placed it in its coffin . . ."[987]

The body of the twenty-three-year-old man was returned in a plain stained coffin later that afternoon for a funeral at his parents' home on Locust Alley. "The victim of the mob this time," James Bowens, "added another to Frederick's list of lynchings in the past eight years." [988] When the grand jury convened on November 21st of that year, they ruled that "James Bowens came to his death on the night of November 16, 1895 in Frederick county, of strangulation, at the hands of parties unknown to the jury."[989]

CONCLUSION

The Report by the Alexandria Community Remembrance Project Research Committee indicated that the historical narrative often highlighted "the inconsistencies, biases, sensationalism, and falsehoods in official statements and [in] the white press' reporting about lynching.[990] The truth is almost impossible to discern because coerced confessions were extracted from the victims. Perusal of the newspapers of the time reveal that there were also numerous unsuccessful lynching threats and attempts.

Lynching occurred over whipping and beating when the social order of white society was attacked. After the lynching of John Diggs in Rockville, The Sun decried the "weakness of the restraints of law to control the popular appetite for vengeance" that motivates every lynching. The reported heinousness of the crime was justification enough for disregarding and overriding all laws. In 1894, Frederick Douglass gave his last great speech. At the end of his life, Douglass continued his lifelong war against injustice. His speech, "The Lessons of the Hour," delivered at Metropolitan AME Church in Washington, D.C. focused on the injustice of lynching. As the statesman so ably commented, "If lynch law is in any case condemned, it is only condemned in one breath, and excused in another."[991]

987 Ibid.

988 *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.) November 18, 1895 as cited in November 16-17, 1895: James Bowens, *Strange Fruit and Spanish Moss*; http://strangefruitandspanishmoss.blogspot.com/2016/06/november-16-17-1895-james-bowens.html; "A Swift Retribution," *Daily Mail*, November 18, 1895; "LYNCHED!," *The News* (Frederick, Maryland) November 18, 1895.

989 "Verdict on Bowens' Lynching," *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.), November 21, 1895.

990 Alexandria Community Remembrance Project."

991 "The Lessons of the Hour" Speech by Frederick Douglass, January 9, 1894, Teaching with Primary Sources, State Historical Society of Iowa, accessed September 25, 2020, https://io-

The masks, the prayers, the muffled hooves, a knowingly tied noose–all expose the premeditation, forethought and planning required of lynching. Armed with pistols, crowbars, files and axes, these murders are not the spontaneous acts of an infuriated and overwrought mob but rather a well-calculated, unpunished and agreed upon act of violence.[992] The lack of accountability, the inability or more likely, the unwillingness of the coroner's jury to lay blame set a pattern of injustice that continues to resonate in society today.

waculture.gov/sites/default/files/history-education-pss-areconstruction-douglass-transcription.pdf.

992 "Lynch Law in Maryland, Rockville, MD," *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), July 28, 1880, 1, accessed September 23, 2020, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.research-port.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=1&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=1879%20-%201881&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22John%20Diggs%22&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-11710E16600C5C68%402407925-11710E1672016440%400-11710E16EFDE5948%40Lynch%2BLaw%2Bin%2BMaryland.%2BRockville%252C%2BMd.%252C%2BJuly%2B27%252C%2B1880&firsthit=yes.

CHAPTER TEN: RECONSTRUCTION AND ITS AFTERMATH

> From the hour that the loyal North began to fraternize with the disloyal and slaveholding South, from the hour that they began to "shake hands over the bloody chasm," from that hour the cause of justice to the black man began to decline and lose its hold up on the public mind, and it has lost ground ever since.
>
> —Frederick Douglass, Life and Times

> . . . what slavery had been two hundred years and more in doing could not be wholly undone in thirty or forty years; could, in fact, hardly be wholly undone, since the Future is always built out of the materials of the Past. . . In [Frederick Douglass'] later years he came to understand that the problem, on the work of solving which he and others had entered with such high hopes in the Reconstruction period, was larger and more complicated than it at that time seemed.
>
> —Booker T. Washington, Frederick Douglass

INTRODUCTION

The history of the United States, when approached through the lens of slavery and the Civil War, Reconstruction and Civil Rights, spans an arc of injustice, moving from hope to despair to resilience, from enabling legislation to contradicting Supreme Court decisions. Reconstruction and reactions to it registered differently in each of the areas in the NCA in accordance with when and how slavery ended and the differing experiences during the aftershock of the Civil War.

From the earliest possibility of freedom in the midst of the Civil War, Blacks began to claim their freedom by escaping slavery to the Union Army. Those first gestures, those early moments of Reconstruction forced the federal government to reckon with their numbers, their condition and their immediate needs. As a tactic of war, freedom seekers were declared contrabands of war which launched a new chapter in the history of the NCA. Contraband camps and later Freedmen's Villages dotted the area's landscape and the Freedmen's Bureau took shape to confront the multiple challenges that the practice of slavery had inflicted on the bondsmen and women and the slaveholder as well. Most notably, the Bureau helped organize and support the building of schools and churches. The withholding of literacy and education from African Americans drove their immediate and near universal quest for learning.

Where states and municipalities in the Area fell short and failed to answer their needs, the Black church and other religions organizations and institutions responded by making space in their buildings for classes; ministers and teachers were the backbone of the effort. The Bureau helped support the school structures often with the labor and funds raised among the newly freed African American population. Community cohesiveness emerged in the face of continued discrimination and segregation which law after law and amendment after amendment were designed to mitigate. As communities took shape, Blacks found their political footing primarily in the filling of local political offices in the District or Virginia or West Virginia but not Maryland.

The colored convention movement and the Black women's associations and clubs provided an outlet for racial uplift , collective action and community transformation. Black men and women found their voice inside their own organizations. As the decades progressed, again with the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau, institutions took shape. Education was addressed at the primary level first and quickly progressed to the secondary and advanced levels. Howard University was founded in 1865 and Freedman's Hospital became the foundation for Howard University's Medical School. In founding Howard University's Law School, Reconstruction congressman, John Mercer Langston, lent his political expertise to the HBCU. Free Will Baptists in West Virginia founded Storer College shortly thereafter. After a religious grounding, education was considered the most important tool for rising out of and above the aftermath of slavery and for stepping into the responsibilities of citizenship.

The quest stood, always in opposition to violence, lynching and coercion. The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments as well as the Civil Right Acts of 1866 and 1875 and multiple legislation in between, were intended to challenge and dismantle discriminatory laws and increasingly codifying segregation practices. Charles Sumner was an exception, though not the only one, in seeing the adoption of the Reconstruction amendments as a beginning rather than an end.[993] Regardless of the Fifteenth amendment, discriminatory practices prohibited African Americans from enjoying their right to vote, by the late 1870s, particularly in the states of the former confederacy.

[993] Riddleberger, Patrick W. "The Radicals' Abandonment of the Negro During Reconstruction." *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 45, no. 2, 1960, 88–102, 96, accessed July 25, 2019, www.jstor.org/stable/2716572.

1877 AND THE END OF MILITARY RECONSTRUCTION

For this report, the dates of Reconstruction extend past 1877 and the end of military reconstruction in the southern states of the confederacy. For the District of Columbia, and counties in Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland that make up the NCA, the effects of Reconstruction lingered to the turn of the twentieth century. Black senators or congressmen, elected as a result of voting practices instituted in the reconstructed South, came to Washington, D. C. to serve in Congress until the end of the 56th Congress in 1901. Local elected officials served in their jurisdictions and Black men continued to exercise their right to vote to the end of the nineteenth century.

The violence universally associated with the end of military reconstruction did not unilaterally begin with the withdrawal of federal troops from the South in 1877. Lynchings were taking place in the NCA as early as 1869. During the 1876 presidential campaign, President Grant's attorney general warned the Republican nominee, Rutherford B. Hayes in a letter: "it is a fixed and desperate purpose of the Democratic party in the South that the [N]egroes shall not vote, and murder is a common means of intimidation to prevent them."[994] Withdrawal of federal troops from the rebelling states of the South after 1877 resulted in federal ambivalence in enforcing civil rights for African Americans and protecting them from escalating white violence. The National Park Service noted:

> Increasingly, Reconstruction's opponents turned to violence. Terrorist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan targeted local Republican leaders for beatings or assassination, as well as blacks who asserted their rights in dealings with white employers. Teachers, ministers, and others seeking to assist the former slaves also became targets. Sometimes, the violence escalated into wholesale assaults on black communities . . . The Klan decimated the Republican organization in many localities. Increasingly, the new Southern governments looked to Washington for assistance.[995]

The Force Acts and the attention produced by the federal investigation into the brutalities committed across the south, helped abate the violence and intimidation momentarily. However, the end of Military Reconstruction in 1877 served as a mechanism for a reinstatement of widespread violence and disenfranchisement of African Americans.[996] The Compromise of 1877 that brought Rutherford B. Hayes to the presidency began the process of abandonment by turning the fate of the

---

994 Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro* (Originally published as The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901), Collier Books, 1965, 25.

995 Eric Foner, "Reconstruction," National Park Service, accessed September 27, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/articles/reconstruction.htm.

996 Landmark Legislation: The Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871, United States Senate, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/EnforcementActs.htm

southern Blacks over to unrepentant and defiant White southerners in exchange for railroads, political patronage and political power.[997]

According to Howard University history professor, Rayford Logan, in the era's earliest period, politicians traded devotion to the Constitution and democracy for the political viability of the Republican party. Simultaneously President Hayes sought to pacify the nation through a laissez fare policy toward Southern justification for the use of force "as the only means by which the whites could obtain redress for the wrongs which, they allege, had been inflicted upon them by a Negro majority."[998] These years mark the transition period from extralegal terror against Black bodies in the darkest hours of democracy after 1877 to a legally sanctioned and wanton disregard for the rights of the nation's newest citizens after 1896, which Blacks fought mightily to resist.[999]

Presidential inaction or indifference, unjust legal rulings, and congressional double-dealing left African Americans with one choice. They were forced to rely on their own networks, churches and civic organizations, some of which they had started before the Civil War as well as during Reconstruction, to fulfill the role of, and substitute for, guaranteed yet non-existent government protections.

Ending the dates of Reconstruction with the withdrawal of federal troops from the south in 1877 ignores the other components that contributed to nation building during the era. Vibrant Black communities in the National Capital Area took hold and thrived, often decades beyond 1877. Their institutions, particularly the churches and schools that were started during Reconstruction as well as before, sustained the communities spiritually and morally, politically and intellectually. Blacks knew that the dual weapons of education and landownership, coupled with entrepreneurship could ward off the evil of ignorance and poverty that slavery had wrought. Although the freedmen's intense desire for economic freedom and independence through land ownership remained unsatisfied in many parts of the South, African Americans did acquire land, homes and property and build businesses in many NCA counties. Community building through landownership was one of the hallmarks of Reconstruction in the NCA. In many areas, these achievements happened in the decades following 1877. August Meier observed that "for the black masses, acquiring land had the highest priority, while for the elite

997 Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro*, 25

998 Ibid.

999 Charles Richard Williams, *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Columbus, 1928), I, 486; E. W. Winkler, ed., "The Hayes-Bryan Correspondence," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVI (1922-1923), 159; Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro* (Originally published as The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901, First Collier Books, 1964, 23.

the matter of greatest urgency was political and civil rights.[1000] Black Virginians, West Virginians and Marylanders were able to pursue education, land ownership, and jobs with growing attainment, even though their gains were limited by racial attitudes and practices of the time. Black Washingtonians achieved political and economic and social success. These accomplishments often generated controversy among whites unable to accept Black capacity.

Long past 1877, Blacks clung to the hopes and promises of Reconstruction, expressing their political goals through Colored Conventions, the colored labor movement, and, for the men, exercising their precarious right to vote even as Virginia Democrats amended the state constitution to make advance payment of a poll tax a prerequisite for voting. The tax achieved its intended effect of disfranchising some Black voters and reducing the number of African American voters in the state. The poll tax was repealed in 1882 only to be replaced by the more odious Constitution of 1902, which reinstated the poll tax.

The critical yet orphaned historical period between 1877 and 1900, often subsumed under the euphemistically labeled Jim Crow era—one of the most virulent, violent periods in American history—is named for the caricature of a dancing Black minstrel figure mockingly performed by a white man. Dated from 1877 to 1950, the Jim Crow era encompasses, instead, the final gasps of Reconstruction incorporated under this critically unexamined label.

With the passage of the great landmark Civil Rights amendments, opponents of slavery believed the last vestiges of the inhumane and unjust system would be eradicated rapidly. In reality, the struggle for equality in freedom was in its embryonic stage.[1001] The Civil War, Emancipation, and Reconstruction encompassed national and local efforts to guarantee racial equality, civil rights and equal opportunity for America's newest citizens. These efforts, however, did not uproot the belief system and practices invested in racial inferiority and superiority. Calculating the relative value of human beings buttressed the economics that brought slavery into existence and has allowed those beliefs and vestiges of that value system to persist into the present day.

The lingering effects of Reconstruction policies continued to reverberate in 1881. The 47th Congress (1881-1883) included two Blacks, with Robert Smalls of South Carolina and John R. Lynch of Mississippi coming to serve in Washington, D. C. It was during this Congress that the United States Supreme Court ruled on five Civil

[1000] August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* (Ann Arbor, 1963), 10-11; Herbert Shapiro, "Afro-American Responses to Race Violence during Reconstruction." Science & Society 36, no. 2 (1972): 158-70, accessed June 20, 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/40401634.

[1001] Floyd, *Records & Recollections*, 23.

Rights Cases of 1883 including the Civil Rights Act of 1875 which was declared unconstitutional. The Court declared that the Fourteenth Amendment forbade states, but not citizens, from discriminating. This reversal on the growing claims for civil rights was devastating for African Americans and helped set the country on the path to the Jim Crow era. Frederick Douglass predicted:

> The future historian will turn to the year 1883 to find the most flagrant example of this national deterioration. Here he will find the Supreme Court of the nation reversing the action of the Government, defeating the manifest purpose of the Constitution, nullifying the Fourteenth Amendment, and placing itself on the side of prejudice, proscription, and persecution.[1002]

Expanding the arc of Reconstruction, particularly its end date, helps us make sense of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The historically fallow period between 1877 and the early years of the twentieth century are crucial yet largely unanalyzed. Vaguely referred to as the era of Jim Crow, this important time period when analyzed as the culmination of Reconstruction, brings closure to the era. Reconstruction Congressman Lynch, for example, brought his discussion of Reconstruction to a close in 1900 with brief reference to 1908. As was the case with other African American Reconstruction congressmen, he continued to serve as an influential politician well after the end of Military Reconstruction. He had served as the Mississippi delegate to the National Republican Convention of 1900. Lynch offered the only amendment which referenced his concerns pertaining the expression of clear attitudes toward the enforcement of the war amendments. His end date for Reconstruction reflected his own authority and political engagement.[1003]

FORECASTING JIM CROW

Douglass died in 1895 and did not live to see the depth of the betrayal that lay ahead when the Supreme Court delivered the heinous 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. By the end of the nineteenth century, the nation had moved backward toward repressive practices against its African American citizens even as those citizens forged a new economic, political, educational and social reality. The *Plessy v. Ferguson* "separate but equal" ruling of 1896 ushered in the twentieth century and laid the foundation for more than a half century of racially driven misconduct and procedures and judicially sanctioned segregation. Permitting "separate but equal" to stand was the death knell—truly the nadir of legal jurisprudence. Now racially driven practices were combined with judicially sanctioned segregation. Legal scholar David Delaney analyzes the political and legal practices that

1002 Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1962, Reprint from the revised edition of 1892), 539.

1003 John R. Lynch, *The Facts of Reconstruction* (The Neale Publishing Company, 1913), accessed September 23, 2019, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16158/16158-h/16158-h.htm.

structured the formation of spatialized inequality at the core of segregation. Local social movements contributed to segregation ordinances that he calls "a kind of local apartheid."[1004]

Delaney provides further illumination of the period, "In the decades following the *Civil Rights Cases*, the geopolitics of race became centered on segregation in U. S. cities." Despite profound changes in law and in race relations, and in living conditions over the generations, "many of us continue to live within geographies of each which had their initial formation a hundred years ago."[1005] In observing modern discriminatory practices, archivist Krystal Appiah commented, "It helps explain the present . . . when you see inequalities that still exist in society, you can see how they formed in the past."[1006]

It was becoming apparent that the climax of the late nineteenth century—the true end of Reconstruction—reaching into the twentieth would be the abandonment of African Americans, their rights and their safety. Not only were civil rights—suffrage, equality on public carriers, in public accommodations and in schools not accorded, but the hoped-for economic foundation for advancement based on land, opportunity and training to bolster citizenship claims were also rapidly disappearing. The public accommodations movement played a crucial role in connecting the nineteenth century origins of the Civil Rights Acts to the mid-twentieth century Civil Rights Movement. The continuing quest for voting rights and representation in the new century also had its roots in Reconstruction.

In Maryland, historians have noted that :

> During the first decade of the twentieth century, Maryland's General Assembly placed more discriminatory laws on the books than any previous or subsequent legislature. Jim Crow laws were passed in the General Assembly to segregate railroads and steamships in the state. In 1905, William Henry Hart, a Howard University law professor, successfully challenged segregated railroads in *Hart v. State of Maryland*, only to find segregation laws refined in subsequent years. Even the Republican Party that had fought for freedmen's rights after the Civil War began to segregate the races at their public meetings. Several local communities, with approval from the legislature, were able to restrict the voting rights of Black citizens. For example, by 1908, both Frederick and Annapolis, Maryland restricted voting to males who had voted prior to 1868 or individuals

1004 David Delaney, *Race, Place, & the Law 1836-1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 93.

1005 Ibid.

1006 Clara H. Vaughn, "Historical Society offers glimpse of African Americans during Reconstruction." *The Baltimore Sun*, March 12, 2012, accessed March 2019, https://www.baltimoresun.com/ph-ll-lhs-freedom-0315-20120312-story.html.

> who owned more than $500 of valued property. Soon afterwards, the United States Court of Appeals struck down those acts.[1007]

After a mountain of laws had been enacted and trampled, it could still be said that the quest for full civil rights—the freedom to use the public highways, and accommodations, and the freedom to obtain employment suitable to their talents, along with equal protection under the law, equal opportunity in education and political privileges—was the constant and unchanging aspiration of African American citizens. Black men had given their service and their lives for their country—not just in the wars that preceded the Civil War but also the Indian Wars, Spanish War, and World War I that followed. Former Mississippi Congressman John R. Lynch observed: "In his devotion to the cause of liberty and justice the colored American has shown that he was not only willing and ready at any and all times to sacrifice his life upon the altar of his own country."[1008] Blacks expected acknowledgement and the full rewards of citizenship for their sacrifice. In his autobiography Lynch continues:

> The colored Americans ask no special favors as a class,—and no special protection as a race. All they ask and insist upon is equal civil and political rights, and a voice in the government under which they live, and to which they owe allegiance, and for the support of which they are taxed. They feel that they are entitled to such consideration and treatment, not as a matter of favor but as a matter of right. They came to the rescue of their country when its flag was trailing in the dust of treason and rebellion, and freely watered the tree of liberty with the precious and patriotic blood that flowed from their loyal veins.[1009]

From the end of the Civil War forward, however, southern newspapers revealed their anxiety and suspicions that the Civil War had been fought "To Enforce . . . 'Negro Equality.'"[1010] That suspicion fueled outrage among southern newspapers, when President Theodore Roosevelt hosted Booker T. Washington at a dinner at the White House on October 16, 1901—the anniversary of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. Washington's visit to the White House sent white supremacists into a vitriolic rant about race but particularly about their perceived threat to the established social hierarchy of equality. Theodore Roosevelt had invited Washington to dine with him and his family, including his wife and daughter. There was widespread condemnation by southern politicians and press at this overt

1007 "Segregation and the Effect of Jim Crow Laws in Maryland, Museum Connection: Culture, Art and Enlightenment, http://marylandpublicschools.org/about/Documents/DCAA/RFLM/13_JimCrowinMD_06202012.pdf; R. Richard Paul Fuke, *Imperfect equality: African Americans and the confines of white racial attitudes in post-emancipation Maryland* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999).

1008 John R. Lynch, *The Facts of Reconstruction* (The Neale Publishing Company, 1913), accessed September 23, 2019, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16158/16158-h/16158-h.htm.

1009 John Roy Lynch, *John Roy Lynch, Reminiscences of an Active Life, The Autobiography of John Roy Lynch* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 293.

1010 *Daily Richmond Examiner*, 6 April 1864 as cited in Henig, Gerald S. "THE INDOMITABLE DR. AUGUSTA: THE FIRST BLACK PHYSICIAN IN THE U.S. ARMY." *Army History*, no. 87 (2013): 22-31, 29, JSTOR, accessed March 11, 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/26298851.

display of social equality. Newspaper stories helped sound the general alarm and fear throughout the south that Blacks were becoming too assertive, and in general would "not stay in their places."[1011]

By 1906 Booker T. Washington privately lamented that "matters are going backwards."[1012] President Roosevelt had a responsibility as representative of "a white man's government" not to encourage social equality by inviting Washington to dine at the White House, argued Southerners.[1013] The fear of social equality or the greater threat that exposed the myth of white supremacy fueled a concentrated effort to ensure Blacks did not progress as public opinion grew increasingly critical and negative. Progress did occur, to be sure, but for centuries, it has been counterbalanced by deep psycho-social, economic and especially legal setbacks. The thought of social equality was such a threat to white southerners that after such extreme reactions to Washington's visit, no African American was invited to the White House for nearly thirty years—even during this apogee of the Progressive Movement.[1014]

THE CONTINUED STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AMERICA

President Barack Obama's 2017 Proclamation 9576—Establishment of the Reconstruction Era National Monument, connected Reconstruction and the racial segregation of the Jim Crow era to modern times. The Proclamation said in part:

> Even as Jim Crow laws and customs limited political participation and access to public accommodations, African Americans maintained visions of freedom and built strong community institutions. Ownership of land, access to education, and churches and civic organizations that took root during the Reconstruction Era laid the foundation for the modern civil rights movement.[1015]

The turn of the twentieth century was a watershed moment. The first generation of American Blacks born in freedom after the Civil War and with no memory of

1011 *Alexandria Gazette*, October 21, 1901, 2, accessed March 23, 2021, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85025007/1901-10-21/ed-1/seq-2/.

1012 Peter W. Schramm, The Heroic Effort of Booker T. Washington, Claremont Review of Books, accessed March 23, 2021, https://claremontreviewofbooks.com/digital/the-heroic-effort-of-booker-t-washington/.

1013 *Alexandria Gazette*, October 21, 1901.

1014 Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., Dinner at the White House: Theodore Roosevelt, Booker T. Washington, and the South, *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (June, 1958), 112-130; "The Negro Point of View," *The Washington Times*, November 03, 1901, accessed March 23, 2021, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87062245/1901-11-03/ed-1/seq-13/#date1=1900&sort=relevance&date2=1901&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&index=15&words=Booker+time+Washington&proxdistance=5&state=&rows=20&ortext=Booker+&proxtext=The+Washington+Times&phrasetext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2.

1015 Proclamation 9576—Establishment of the Reconstruction Era National Monument, Administration of Barack Obama, 2017, accessed June 21, 2021, https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-201700017/html/DCPD-201700017.htm.

slavery reached adulthood. Proud and self-assured, they had never known the indignities, suffering and demeaning attitudes embedded in the practice of slavery. They were the "New Negro," a generation more likely to be literate—even college-educated. This flowering would continue in the north for three decades but the political climate in the NCA was more restrictive. Despite the racist avalanche of the period, a counter narrative of Black agency proliferated as early moments of the New Negro movement began to take hold and reinfuse hope, dignity and pride. In 1912, Alain Locke, the intellectual inspiration behind the movement was teaching English at Howard University, the crucible of liberatory thought. Major cities in the NCA, particularly Washington, D. C. would fully participate in the New Negro movement.[1016]

The New Woman paralleled the New Negro. Although not always visible, Black women in Washington, D. C. and the NCA have been active always, particularly since the waning years of the nineteenth century when their organizing abilities pushed through to the surface. Black woman moved beyond traditional church-based clubs and organizations and sewing circles and other sisterly groups in favor of organizing reform-oriented women's clubs. Black women's sense of identity and solidarity expressed through leading national associations helped to confront, thwart and combat racial discrimination. With D. C. educator, school board member and civil rights leader Mary Church Terrell in a leadership position, reformers adopted the motto, "Lifting as We Climb" to express their self-help mission. One of West Virginia's most prominent graduates of Storer College, Coralie Franklin Cook helped advocate for women's rights and for suffrage. "Cook focused on the role of Black women as the builders of an interracial coalition centered on progressive reform."[1017] As these powerful movements were forming and taking effect, the Supreme Court handed down the "separate but equal" clause of the *Plessy v Ferguson* ruling, which would have lasting effects on the American psyche. African Americans continued their resistance and resilience in the face of the sustained assaults on body and spirit.

The failed enforcement of the civil rights promised in the "first" reconstruction of America left deep wounds. The history of scholarly analysis of Reconstruction exposes the disparate, uneven thinking on the subject. Since the 1950s scholars diverged widely on the accepted view of slavery and reconstruction, which began to be successfully challenged, as the Civil Rights movement gained traction as did

[1016] Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro: Voices of the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Atheneum, 1992, 1925).

[1017] Sharon D Kennedy-Nolle, "AFRICAN AMERICAN LITERARY ACTIVISM IN A DIVIDED DISTRICT: Storer College and the Pioneer Press of West Virginia." In *Writing Reconstruction: Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the Postwar South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 123-77, accessed July 12, 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9781469621081_kennedy-nolle.7.

the influence of public opinion. The emerging civil rights movement of the 1960s, considered the Second Reconstruction, demanded justice and equal treatment, challenged racist assumptions about Black inferiority and expected the nation to deliver on the precepts of its democratic founding.

Reconstruction as redefined here gave birth to the struggle for civil rights in America, which took distinct forms during different time periods as well as at different locales. Most counties within the NCA also had their own understanding and experience of Reconstruction. The Reconstruction Era continued the sustained struggle for equal rights and fair treatment in the United States that began at the close of the American Revolution, endured throughout the quest to abolish slavery in pre-Civil War America and continued as the struggle for civil rights during Reconstruction and beyond. There is an unbroken connection between pre-Civil War and Reconstruction Era struggles and the modern civil rights movement. President Barack Obama, in the Presidential Proclamation establishing the first Reconstruction Era National Park, referred to Reconstruction as "The Nation's Second Founding."[1018] Repeatedly, twenty-first century writers, journalists and political pundits evoke the unfinished, unrealized or unfulfilled racial and political virtues and values espoused during Reconstruction in the nineteenth century coupled with the devastating legal rulings to explain the racial problems of the contemporary moment. According to professor of law and values, Rebecca E. Zietlow:

> The first Reconstruction Era after the Civil War promised full and equal citizenship for black people in our society. The understatement of the century is that we are still working on fulfilling that promise. . . It is time for a Third Reconstruction to address racial inequality and injustice in our nation. The Third Reconstruction must address the economic and social roots of racial inequality in our society.[1019]

We, as a national collective, are still dealing with powerful reminders of the lingering effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Positioning the close of the redefined era of Reconstruction at the dawn of the twentieth century, new relics of the past, especially the enormity of the achievements Blacks attained in the face of constant opposition, have space to arise and take hold. Reconstruction displayed the uncelebrated level of success and a level of capacity that African Americans were able to attain when left unobstructed. Whatever the political leanings of those farther south, African American schools and businesses were born, newspapers and media flourished, and social and political organizations took root. Flowering of life among Black communities in a demonstration of what could happen if

[1018] Presidential Proclamation, January 12, 2017.

[1019] Rebecca E. Zietlow, "It's Time for a Third Reconstruction," *The Hill*, accessed September 27, 2020, https://thehill.com/opinion/civil-rights/503182-its-time-for-a-third-reconstruction.

left alone to achieve and thrive, threatened white America's idea of Black capacity. What scared whites the most was the trajectory of the levels of Black attainment at the heart of Reconstruction that left no misunderstanding of what could have been accomplished.

By 1914, every southern state and many northern cities had Jim Crow laws that discriminated against Black Americans. Clearly, the seeds of the fight around school desegregation that peaked with *Brown v Board of Education*, were planted in the earliest moments of Reconstruction in the state constitutions and early attempts to segregate local schools in the NCA.[1020] As the lawyer and civil rights activist Floyd McKissick reminds us, the patterns of racial attitudes, behavior and policy developed during the earliest days of enslavement still exist and are being re-enforced in the present.[1021] Implications for today can be discerned through wealth disparities and education gaps between Blacks and whites. These gaps began with and were perpetually underpinned by the unpaid labor of slavery and anti-literacy laws and buttressed by disenfranchisement, gerrymandering, and terror, loss or theft of land and rights, and unfair labor practices during reconstruction.

One hundred years of Jim Crow, segregation, and urban renewal destroyed the precious communities that Blacks started during reconstruction. Redlining and voter suppression cemented the disparity into an American economic reality—a Civil Rights wealth disparity set up in slavery and solidified in Reconstruction and expressed in the twentieth century and now in the twenty-first century. The ingenuity and expansiveness of the Black community and the breadth of how well it had overcome each such obstacle and the measure of resistance mounted against them implies that white America viewed the collective political, economic, intellectual and social power of African Americans as a profound threat.

Yet, if we heed the call to finally resolve what historian Eric Foner calls the "unfinished work of Reconstruction," there is a way forward: a moral awakening and a clear understanding of past policies that have contributed to our plight and upheld racial inequality. One lesson of Reconstruction is that we do not need more laws. As shown in this report, the country has passed dozens of laws only to see them challenged, broken, ignored, or so narrowly interpreted as to be rendered ineffectual. Because we continue to seek legal solutions for social and racial problems, parts of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 were later reincorporated in the Civil Rights

[1020] Hartman, Richard Ogden, "A Constitution of Our Own : The Constitutional Convention of 1872 and the Resurrection of Confederate West Virginia The Constitutional Convention of 1872 and the Resurrection of Confederate West Virginia" (2004). Theses, Dissertations and Capstones. Paper 104, Marshall University, 47.

[1021] Floyd McKissick, *3/5 of a Man* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1969).

Act of 1964 and the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Foner, who has devoted much of his scholarly life to the study of Reconstruction, leaves us with this admonition, "We must safeguard the promises of the Bill of Rights—be ever vigilant for injustice, ever vigilant for inequality and ever vigilant for the ideals of democracy."[1022] Yet, vigilance must be combined with effective actions that safeguard basic democratic principles and build on the best of the nation's ideals.

CONCLUSION

This report has examined the quest by African Americans for stability and the rewards of freedom during Reconstruction through institution building, land ownership, and the establishment of communities and churches, and through organizational unification. Blacks turned to legal, judicial and political guarantees to assure their rights even as these systems, in addition to the everyday belief systems of ordinary Americans, held racial inequality tightly in place since the Civil War. Each system has worked as a counterweight that ensures racial disparities survive and even thrive.

Reconstruction legislation, particularly the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Civil Rights Act of 1871, also known as the Second Ku Klux Klan Act, has been invoked to explain and analyze current events and the state of race relations in the United States. Increasingly, scholars and journalists, pundits and commentators are examining the hopes and failures of Reconstruction and the meaning and unfinished business of this important but deeply misjudged historical period. Extending the time horizon for Reconstruction to include legal events building to *Plessy v Ferguson* and its consequences adds historical context. The implications of Reconstruction era policies and laws come to the fore for voting rights, racial disparities, police violence and "government sponsored brutality," for inequality in education and health and economic disparities. In 1966, one hundred years after the Civil Rights Act of 1866 attempted to rectify the wrongs and injustice of slavery, the nation continued to grapple with its legacy.

The legacy of a reconstructed America, the rise of Jim Crow, the specter of lynching and a racially repressive society, would require 100 more years of effort to dislodge even as Black communities and churches flourished and attainment and education levels rose. America was founded on a dualistic set of ideological principles: one spelled out in the Bill of Rights, the other, worked out in human capital, relied on the unpaid labor of enslaved Africans to grow and ensure the wealth of the nation. A clear understanding and a clear-eyed acknowledgement of the sys-

[1022] Eric Foner Interview, "The 'Unresolved Legacy' Of Reconstruction," Fresh Air, NPR, June 5, 2020 (Originally Broadcast 2006), accessed June 8, 2020, https://www.npr.org/2020/06/05/870862116/the-unresolved-legacy-of-reconstruction.

tems and practices instituted during Reconstruction and perpetuated across the century is urgently required. Yet, as a country, we have not confronted the consequences of centuries of slavery, followed by a Civil War, Reconstruction and then Jim Crow segregation, leading to modern racialized disproportionality. Indeed, those challenges continue to haunt us as a nation as we move through the twenty-first century. A commitment to equal opportunity, using the important lessons of Reconstruction—its withering failures and its overlooked successes—to devise effective solutions to intractable problems would bolster a third Reconstruction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

11 Most Endangered Historic Places, Metropolitan AME Church, National Trust for Historic Preservation, https://savingplaces.org/places/metropolitan-ame-church#.X7Q7U2hKhPY accessed November 17, 2020.

14 Stat. 27 Chapter 31, 39 Congress, Sess. 1, An Act: To protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and furnish the means of their vindication. (Apr. 9, 1866) Stat. 27 (1866), Heinonline, https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.slavery/ssactsaa0058&div=1&src=home accessed March 21, 2021.

42 U.S. Code § 1981. Equal rights under the law, Legal Information Institute, Cornell University, https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/42/1981 accessed July 25, 2019.

150 Years Later, The Original Meaning of The Fourteenth Amendment Protects Our Liberties. *The Federalist,* https://thefederalist.com/2018/07/13/150-years-later-original-meaning-fourteenth-amendment-protects-liberties/ accessed June 17, 2021.

"$500 Reward for Vermillion's Lynchers." *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., December 23, 1889, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13EA4F10029F6300%402411360-13EA3CD7572EFF60%404-13EA3CD7572EFF60%40&firsthit=yes accessed August 24, 2020.

1831-1884: Abolition and Emancipation, Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage, https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1831-1884/ accessed June 17, 2021.

"1858-1883 A Twenty Fifth Anniversary." *Christian Recorder*, June 21, 1883.

"A Barn Burned." *The Herald and Torch Light*, Hagerstown, MD, November 14, 1889.

"A Brief Historical Sketch of the African American Presence in Falls Church, Virginia." George Mason University and the Tinner Hill Heritage Foundation, http://www.100yearsblackfallschurch.org/history accessed July 10, 2019.

"A Brief History of Campbell Chapel AME, Campbell Chapel AME Church." http://campbellame.org/index.php/history/ accessed October 13, 2020.

"A BRUTAL NEGRO LYNCHED: TAKEN FROM A MARYLAND JAIL AND HANGED." *New York Times*, July 28, 1880, https://search-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/docview/93795824/BCA73AA9C03D4882PQ/2?accountid=14696 accessed September 13, 2020.

"A Colored Mass Meeting." *Mirror*, May 17, 1883, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/559ec31fe4b0550458945194/t/563e41e7e4b07fc6089c5d37/1446920679537/LC+Meeting+to+Sit+on+Juries.pdf accessed July 25, 2019.

"A Fiendish Crime, a Colored Man Lynched for Assaulting His Employer's Wife." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 24, 1875.

"A Firm Foundation; Queen's Chapel United Methodist Church 1868-2010." http://www.queenschapelumc.org/history.html accessed October 7, 2020.

"A Guide to the African American Heritage in Arlington County Virginia." Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, Second edition 2016. https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.pdf accessed July 10, 2019.

"A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland." The Maryland State Archives, Annapolis and The University of Maryland College Park, Maryland, 2007.

"A History Scarred by Lynchings." *Washington Post*, July 7, 2019, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/409856187/99DAC54872FE4881PQ/11?accountid=14696 accessed July 24, 2019.

"A Lynched Negro." *The Waterbury Evening Democrat*, Waterbury, CT, November 9, 1889, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn94053256/1889-11-09/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=1888&index=0&rows=20&words=Anderson+Owen&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1891&proxtext=%22owen+anderson%22&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1 accessed September 14, 2020.

"A Lynching at Frederick, Md." *The Washington Post*, Nov 24, 1887, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/138051693/95D647AF87894E44PQ/1?accountid=14696 accessed July 24, 2019.

"A Negro's Swift Punishment." *New York Times*, January 13, 1880, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/A_NEGROS_SWIFT_PUNISHMENT._L.pdf accessed September 6, 2020.

"A Shameful Affair: The Last Man Lynched in Montgomery County, Md." *The Washington Post*, August 22, 2018.

A Short History: National Medical Association. https://www.nmanet.org/page/History accessed March 11. 2020.

"A State of Convenience: The Creation of West Virginia. Constitution of West Virginia. West Virginia Archives and History, West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. http://www.wvculture.org/history/statehood/constitution.html accessed March 27, 2020.

"A Swift Retribution." *Daily Mail*, November 18, 1895.

"A TALK WITH FRED DOUGLASS: Misfortune of the Negro that the Sins of the Few Are Visited Upon the Many." *The Washington Post*, Dec 12, 1893, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/138871654/E58F3A6BFD834FADPQ/73?accountid=14696 accessed July 25, 2019.

"A Youthful Mahoneite." *The Daily Times*, Richmond, VA, November 9, 1889, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86071854/1889-11-09/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=1888&sort=relevance&rows=20&words=Anderson+Owen&searchType=basic&sequence=0&index=1&state=&date2=1891&proxtext=%22owen+anderson%22&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3 accessed August 12, 2020.

"A Young Lady Outraged by a Negro." *New York Herald*, October 14, 1869, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A11A050B7B120D3F8%40EANX-130B8AC9CC469400%402403985-130B8ACA17E1C118%402-130B8ACD31156630%40Legislative%2BActs%252FLegal%2BProceedings&firsthit=yes accessed August 24, 2020.

Abbott, Carl. *Political Terrain: Washington, D. C., From Tidewater Town to Global Metropolis*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Abbott, D.E. "The Land of Maria Syphax and the Abbott Mausoleum." *Arlington Historical Magazine* 7, no. 4 (October 1984):67.

"An Act to Extend the Charter of the Alexandria and Washington Railroad Company, and for Other Purposes." U.S. Statutes at Large, 12:805.

"An Act to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act of eighteen hundred and fifty, and all Acts and Parts of Acts for the Rendition of Fugitive Slaves," Thirty-Eighth Congress. Sess. I. CH. 166, 167, 168. 1864, LOC, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/38th-congress/session-1/c38s1ch166.pdf accessed January 23, 2021.

Acts of the General Assembly, 1865-1866; Excerpts from Virginia's Black Codes (1866), "Laws in Relation to Freedmen." 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. 6, Freedman's Affairs, U. S. History Scene, https://ushistoryscene.com/article/excerpts-virginia-black-codes-1866/ accessed December 27, 2020.

Adam Francis Plummer, Smithsonian Anacostia Community Museum, https://anacostia.si.edu/exhibits/Plummer/Plummer_Essays.htm accessed November 11, 2020.

"Address of the Colored Men's Border States Convention," Colored Conventions Project, https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/files/original/d87123800aded-f4e04057f025e236eba.jpg

Adebayo, Marsha and Chris Rigaux, "A Legacy of Violence and Land Appropriation Bethesda Moses African Cemetery." *Black Agenda Report*, July 31, 2019, https://www.blackagendareport.com/legacy-violence-and-land-appropriation-bethesda-moses-african-cemetery accessed June 11, 2020.

Adhikusuma, Briana. "UPDATED: Peaceful protesters in Bethesda condemn construction on historic African cemetery." *Bethesda Magazine*, June 9, 2020, https://bethesdamagazine.com/bethesda-beat/development/peaceful-protesters-in-bethesda-condemn-construction-on-historic-african-cemetery/ accessed June 11, 2020.

African American Heritage Sites in the City of Frederick and Frederick County, Maryland, http://www.frederickhsc.org/pdf/hsc_aahsbro.pdf accessed September 19, 2019.

African American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince Georges County, Maryland, Chapter 3, Rossville. The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Prince George's County Planning Department, http://mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/PDFs/254/Chapter%203%20-%20Communities.pdf accessed September 16, 2019.

African American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland. The Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, https://issuu.com/mncppc/docs/aapgc/249 accessed March 6, 2021.

"African Americans and the Civil War: Fleeing, Fighting and Working for Freedom." Trail Sign: African Americans and the Civil War, Alexandria Heritage Trail, City of Alexandria, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/TrailSignsAfricanAmericansAndTheCivilWar.pdf accessed September 3, 2019.

African American Historic Resources of Alexandria, VA, Multiple Property Documentation Form, 2019.https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015_AfricanAmericanHistoricResourcesOfAlexandria_2003_NR_nomination_MPD.pdf accessed September 23, 2019.

African American Historic Resources of Prince George's County, Maryland. National Register of Historic Places, https://www.gov/nr/feature/afam/2006/PGcounty.htm accessed September 23, 2019.

African American History (1830-1936), Prince William Forest, https://www.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/African American.htm accessed March 20, 2021.

"African American Landowners, Churches, Schools and Businesses, Fairfax County Virginia (1860-1900) Second Edition: A Historical Sketch of African American Participation in the Development of Fairfax County in the Mid to Late Nineteenth Century." The Laurel Grove School Association.

African Americans in Jefferson County (brochure). http://www.jcblackhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JCBHT_2013_WebVersion.pdf accessed July 28, 2020.

"African Americans in Politics in Virginia (1865-1902)." Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/african_americans_and_politics_in_virginia_1865-1902 accessed August 27, 2019.

Alexandria's Freedmen's Cemetery. https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/ContrabandsCemeteryHistoricalOverview.pdf accessed July 10, 2019.

Alexandria Gazette, October 21, 1901, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85025007/1901-10-21/ed-1/seq-2/ accessed March 23, 2021.

Alexandria Gazette, Volume 70, Number 55, 3 March 1869, https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=AG18690303.1.3&e=-------en-20--1--txt-txIN--------, accessed March 24, 2021.

"Alexander Academy." George Washington's Mt. Vernon, https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/alexandria-academy/ accessed March 19, 2021.

"Alexander Thomas Augusta, Major, United States Army." Arlington National Cemetery, http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/ataugust.htm accessed March 11, 2020.

Alexandria Community Remembrance Project. Report by the Alexandria Community Remembrance Project Research Committee, July 2020, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/blackhistory/BenjaminThomasHistoricalNarrative.pdf accessed August 10, 2020.

"Alfred Street Baptist Church." Alexandria Sites on the National Register of Historic Places, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=29750#AlfredStreetBaptistChurch accessed October 18, 2020.

Alfred Street, History, https://www.alfredstreet.org/about-us/church-history/ accessed October 1, 2020.

Allen Chapel AME Church 162nd Anniversary Journal. September 12, 2012, https://issuu.com/kingdomgraphicdesign/docs/ac_sj_2012 accessed October 15, 2020.

"Alley Improvement Association." In *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations*. Nina Mjagkij, ed. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Amos, Alcione M. and Patricia Brown Savage, "Frances Eliza Hall." *Washington History*, Historical Society of Washington, D.C., Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring 2017), Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/90007373 accessed January 23, 2021.

Amt, Emilie. "A Driving Tour of African American History." Visit Hagerstown, http://www.visithagerstown.com/blog/36/a-driving-tour-of-African American-history-in-washington-county-md accessed July 18, 2020.

"An Incendiary Lynched." *The Sun*, Baltimore, MD, December 7, 1889.

Andrew Johnson's Veto of the Civil Rights Bill. America's Reconstruction, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/exhibits/reconstruction/section4/section4_10veto2.html accessed June 21, 2021.

Angell, Stephen W. "A Black Minister Befriends the 'Unquestioned Father of Civil Rights': Henry McNeal Turner, Charles Sumner, and the African American Quest for Freedom." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 85:1 (Fall 2001), 27-58.

"Another Outrage Case." *Shenandoah Herald*, February 4 and 25, 1880.

"Another Lynching." Omaha World-Herald, Omaha, Nebraska, October 21, 1894, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=10&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A1106B5BBD4B623A8%40EANX-116DFF7C2F4FEC58%402413123-116DFF7D86DD9D38%4012-116DFF81E76E1DC0%40Another%2BLynching.%2BMasked%2BMen%2BBreak%2Binto%2Bthe%2BJail%2Band%2BLynch%2Ba%2BColored%2BMan%2Bfor%2Ban%2BAttempted%2BAssault&firsthit=yes accessed August 24, 2020.

"Anti Lynching Petition." History, Art & Archives, U. S. House of Representatives, https://history.house.gov/Records-and-Research/Listing/pm_031/ accessed July 24, 2019.

"Appropriations for Colored Schools." *The Herald and Torch Light*, Hagerstown, March 4, 1874.

Approved Historic Sites and Districts Plan, Prince George's County Maryland, June 2010. The Maryland-National Planning Commission, https://www.mncppc.org/DocumentCenter/View/697/Approved-Historic-Sites-and-Districts-Plan-PDF?bidId= accessed July 3, 2021.

"Arlington County Historical Notebook." Vertical File, Biography – Gray, Virginia Collection, Arlington County Central Library, Arlington, VA.

Arlington House. The Robert E. Lee Memorial, Freedman's Village, https://www.gov/arho/learn/historyculture/emancipation.htm.

Arlington National Cemetery. Facts about Section 27, https://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/Explore/Notable-Graves/Section-27 accessed December 27, 2020.

Arlington National Cemetery: Where Valor proudly Sleeps. http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/freedman.htm accessed September 30, 2019.

Armstrong, Margalynne J. "Are We Nearing the End of Impunity for Taking Black Lives?" 56 *Santa Clara Law Review*. 721 2016, http://digitalcommons.law.scu.edu/lawreview/vol56/iss4/2 accessed March 4, 2021.

"Arrived at Last James G. Blaine Receives a Nation's Welcome." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 8, 1888.

Article VIII. Constitution of Maryland, Maryland Manual Online, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/43const/html/08art8.html accessed July 26, 2020.

"Asbury United Methodist Church, African American Heritage Trail." Cultural Tourism DC, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/asbury-united-methodist-church-African American-heritage-trail accessed October 17, 2020.

Asbury United Methodist Church (Washington, D.C.) records 1836-1986. Archives & Manuscripts, The New York Public Library, http://archives.nypl.org/scm/20849 accessed October 17, 2020.

Asbury United Methodist Church. National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, NPS, https://npgallery.gov/GetAsset/41e891e3-cac7-4856-a21b-6db592a9cadb accessed October 17, 2020.

Asch, Chris Myers and George Derek Musgrove, *Chocolate City: A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation's Capital*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017.

"Attack of Mrs. Yeakle and Lynching of John H. Bigus." The History Engine https://historyengine.richmond.edu/episodes/view/2264 accessed July 25, 2019.

"Attempted Rape and Lynch Law." *Sentinel* (Montgomery County, Maryland), January 12, 1880, http://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Sentinel_9-12-1880_Peck-red.pdf accessed September 6, 2020.

"Attorney General Miller." *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.), June 6, 1892.

Bagby, George P., ed. *The Annotated Code of the Public Civil Laws of Maryland*, Volume 2. Article LXXVII, Public Education, Chapter 18, "Colored Schools." Baltimore: King Bros., Printers & Publishers, 1911. https://books.google.com/books?id=uHRCAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA1714&lpg=PA1714&dq=maryland+general+education+act+of+1872&source=bl&ots=1iiCPnOSw9&sig=ACfU3U3VOhDN5xZ1XvjnMuJrIOfK1B8_xw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiH8LiwtvDqAhW8oXIEHfJuCYw4ChDoATAIegQIChAB#v=onepage&q=colored%20schools&f=false accessed March 21, 2021.

Bailey, Amy Kate and Karen A. Snedker. "Practicing What They Preach? Lynching and Religion in the American South, 1890 – 1929." US National Library of Medicine National Institutes of Health, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3856205/ accessed July 25, 2019.

Bailey, Megan. Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, NPS, http://history.com/publications/hafe/eoa.pdf accessed July 28, 2020.

Barnard, Henry. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1867-'68*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868. https://www.google.com/books/edition/Report_of_the_Commissioner_of_Education/0Eo6AQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=the+educational+capabilities+of+the+%5BNegro+race+from+actual+experience+in+the+District+of+Columbia+to+encourage+the+education,+in+common+schools,+of+this+%E2%80%98nation+within+a+nation&pg=PA901&printsec=frontcover accessed June 9, 2021.

Barnes House, Historic Preservation. http://www.pwcgov.org/government/dept/park/hp/Pages/Barnes-House.aspx accessed July 15, 2019.

Barry Farm Site. African American Heritage Trail, Cultural Tourism DC, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/barry-farm-site-African American-heritage-trail accessed June 22, 2021.

"Bartonsville Residents Love Their 'Homeplace' Along Road." *Frederick News Post*, July 20, 1989, https://newspaperarchive.com/frederick-news-post-jul-20-1989-p-1/ accessed March 5, 2021.

Basil Dorsey Log House site. Maryland Historical Trust, Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey, Mont: 17-41-12, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/stagsere/se1/se5/016000/016800/016870/pdf/msa_se5_16870.pdf accessed June 25, 2021.

Bearden, *Jim and Linda Jean Butler. Shadd: The Life and Times of Mary Shadd Cary*. NC Press: Toronto, 1977.

Bearss, Sara B. "Restored and Vindicated: The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1864." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. 2014, Vol. 122, No. 2 (2014).

Beasley, Adrienne. "Lynching in West Virginia." The Carter G. Woodson Project, Marshall University, https://www.marshall.edu/woodson-dev/lynching-in-west-virginia/#:~:text=West%20Virginia%20can%20still%20be,West%20Virginia%20Representatives%20pledged%20support accessed August 24, 2020.

Beckwith, Alison. "When Enslaved People in Prince George's County Headed to D.C. for Freedom." *The Hyattsville Wire*, February 4, 2021, https://www.hyattsvillewire.com/2021/02/04/prince-georges-county-slavery/ accessed March 6, 2021.

Beckwith, Ryan Teague. "The Remarkable History of a Bladensburg Church." The Hyattsville Wire, September 10, 2018; St. Paul's Baptist Church, Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form, https://www.hyattsvillewire.com/2018/09/10/bladensburg-historic-church/; http://www.heritage.umd.edu/CHRSWeb/ATHA/Port%20Towns%20Resource%20Files/NR%20NOMINATIONS/PG-69-06_St.%20Paul%27s%20Baptist%20Church%20(Free%20Hope%20Baptist%20Church).pdf accessed November 29, 2020.

Belisle, Richard F. "Asbury UMC addition is 'work that God has commissioned us to do'" Mar 10, 2013 Updated Sep 6, 2013. *HERALD-MAIL MEDIA*, HERALDMAILMEDIA.COM https://www.heraldmailmedia.com/news/tri_state/asbury-umc-addition-is-work-that-god-has-commissioned-us/article_44619ef4-b577-5787-962a-7df127f684ca.html accessed November 8, 2020.

Bell, Derrick. *Race, Racism and American Law*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977.

Berger, Howard S. "Rural Villages in Prince George's County, 1815-1930." In *Historic Contexts in Prince George's County: Short Papers on Settlement Patterns, Transportation and Cultural History*. Upper Marlboro, MD: Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1991.

Berlin, Ira. *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*. New York: New Press, 2007.

Berlin, Ira, Steven F. Miller, Joseph Reidy and Leslie S. Rowland, eds. *Freedom: Volume 2, Series 1: The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Upper South*. Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Bernstein, Steven, "Manassas: How This Southern City Came to Be More Than a Battlefield." HISTORYNET, August 2019, https://www.historynet.com/manassas-how-this-southern-city-came-to-be-more-than-a-battlefield.htm accessed October 20, 2020.

Bestebreurtje, Lindsey. "A View from Hall's Hill: African American Community Development in Arlington, Virginia from the Civil War to the Turn of the Century." Arlington Historical Society, http://arlingtonhistoricalsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/2015-3-Halls.pdf accessed June 14, 2021.

Bethesda Moses Cemetery. IR+Media, Aug. 11, 2020, https://medium.com/@IR-MediaLLC_39840/bethesda-moses-cemetery-50b386ad82b2 accessed March 15, 2021.

Bishop J. M. Brown, *The Tennessean*. Nashville, March 17, 1893.

Biography of James Robinson. Manassas National Battlefield Park, https://www.gov/mana/learn/education/upload/Res1_JamesRobinsonBio.pdf accessed July 15, 2019.

"Bitter Race War." *The Pittsburgh Dispatch*, November 10, 1889, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024546/1889-11-10/ed-1/seq-7/#date1=1888&sort=relevance&rows=20&words=Anderson+Owen&searchType=basic&sequence=0&index=5&state=&date2=1891&proxtext=%22owen+anderson%22&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2 accessed September 14, 2020.

Black Americans in Congress 1870-2007. Office of History and Preservation, Office of the Clerk, United States House of Representatives. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 2008.

Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library, ed. *The Essence of a People: Portraits of African Americans Who Made a Difference in Loudoun County, Virginia*. Leesburg, 2001.

Black History Preservation Society, Inc. *African Americans of Jefferson County*.

Blight, David W., *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018.

Bonner, Christopher. "The Roots of Reconstruction." *The Journal of the Civil War Era*, July 10, 2018. https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2018/07/the-roots-of-Reconstruction/ accessed September 3, 2019.

Boston Evening Transcript. November 28, 1873.

Bowie State University History. Bowie State University, https://www.bowiestate.edu/about/history/ accessed June 29, 2021.

Bradley, Mark L. "The Army and Reconstruction, 1865-1877." Washington, DC: Center for Military History, United States Army, 2015, https://history.army.mil/html/books/075/75-18/cmhPub_75-18.pdf accessed July 23, 2019.

Brown, DeNeen L. "Black Towns, Established by Freed Slaves, Are Dying Out." *The Washington Post*, March 27, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/black-towns-established-by-freed-slaves-after-civil-war-are-dying-out/2015/03/26/25872e5c-c608-11e4-a199-6cb5e63819d2_story.html

Brown, Elsa Barkley. "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in Transition from Slavery to Freedom." *Political Culture 7* (1994): 107-46.

Brownell, Richard. Frederick Douglass's Career in D.C. Government. Boundary Stones, WETA's Local History Blog, https://blogs.weta.org/boundarystones/2016/02/18/frederick-douglasss-career-dc-government accessed March 31, 2020.

"Bruce, Blanche Kelso." History, Art and Archives, The United States House of Representatives, https://history.house.gov/People/Detail/10029

Brumbaugh, Abigail. "Frederick County's Colored Schools." Journal of the Historical Society of Frederick County Summer 2010.

Brundage, Fitzhugh. *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*. Cambridge, Mass., 2005.

Burke, Dawne Raine. *An American Phoenix: A History of Storer College from Slavery to Desegregation, 1865-1955*. Pittsburgh: Greyer Printing, 2006.

"Burns Lynching." *The Wheeling Intelligencer*, WV, February 20, 1886, rarenewspapers.com/view/603453 accessed August 1, 2020.

Butchart, Ronald E. "Freedmen's Education in Virginia, 1861–1870." *Encyclopedia of Virginia*, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/freedmens-education-in-virginia-1861-1870/ accessed March 19, 2021.

Butler, Aaron Jason. "A Union of Church and State: The Freedmen's Bureau and the Education of African Americans in Virginia from 1865—1871." (2013). Ph. D. Diss. College of William & Mary, https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.25774/w4-0k2t-pw52 accessed March 22, 2021.

"By a Maddened Mob. James Bowens, Colored, Lynched at Frederick." *Baltimore Sun*, Nov 18, 1895, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/20368901/frederick-md-lynching-baltimore-sun-nov/ accessed March 23, 2021.

Caldwell, A. B. *History of the American Negro: West Virginia Edition*. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2012.

Calvin T.S. Brent Residence. African American Heritage Trail, Cultural Tourism DC, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/web/portal%20/calvin-t.s.-brent-residence-African American-heritage-trail.

"Camp Barker." *Evening Star*, October 24, 1862, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1862-10-24/ed-1/seq-3/#date1=1862&index=1&rows=20&words=Barker+Camp+camp&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=District+of+Columbia&date2=1862&proxtext=camp+barker&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1 accessed January 29, 2021.

Cary, Mary Ann Shadd (1823-1893). *In Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia, Volume I A—L, Darlene Clark Hine*, Elsa Barkley Brown and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Cary, Mary Ann Shadd. "Colored Women's Progressive Franchise Association Statement of Purpose." https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C2613568 accessed March 15, 2021.

Cashin, Sheryll. "Joseph E. Lowry, Dean of the Civil Rights Movement, 1921-2020." Postscript. *Politico*, December 26, 2020, https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/12/26/joseph-lowery-civil-rights-movement-447692 accessed December 26, 2020.

"Celebrating 275 Years of Black Heritage in Prince William County." Prince William Library System, https://www.pwcva.gov/assets/documents/library/Celebrating_275years_of_Black-Heritage.pdf accessed July 15, 2019.

"Census Records." Alfred Robinson. Ancestry.com; James Robinson House, Manassas National Battlefield, https://www.gov/mana/learn/education/upload/Res2_RobinsonHouse_photoinfo.pdf accessed March 4, 2021.

CHAP. LXXXIII. "An Act providing for the Education of Colored Children in the Cities of Washington and Georgetown, District of Columbia, and for other Purposes." Thirty-Seventh Congress, May 21, 1862, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/37th-congress/session-2/c37s2ch83.pdf accessed June 11, 2020.

Charles Sumner School. National Register of Historic Places Inventory, Nomination Form, NPS, November 6, 1979, https://npgallery.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/c67f54e8-52b3-4579-abe7-c200ecaedaad?branding=NRHP accessed March 8, 2021.

Chernoff, M. "Social Displacement in a Renovating Neighborhood's Commercial District: Atlanta." In *Back to the City: Issues in Neighborhood Renovation, ed. Shirley Bradway Laska and Daphne Spain, Pergamon Policy Studies on Urban Affairs*. New York: Pergamon Press, 1980.

Christian, Charles, *Black Saga: The African American Experience: A Chronology*. New York: Civitas Books, 1998.

Church History. Good Hope Union UMC, https://www.goodhopeunion.org/history accessed November 12, 2020.

Church History. Israel Metropolitan Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, https://www.israelcme.org/history accessed October 11, 2020.

Cimbala, Paul and Randall Miller, eds. *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1999.

City of Alexandria, Virginia. Watson Reading Room, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/blackhistory/default.aspx?id=37376 accessed July 28, 2020.

Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites. 2002. Revised 2008, National Historic Landmark Civil Rights Framework, NPS.

Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights. A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study, 2007, Revised 2009, NPS. https://www.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/upload/CivilRights_VotingRights.pdf accessed July 25, 2019.

Civil War Defenses of Washington : Maryland, Virginia, Washington D.C. Map, NPS, 2010, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3851r.ct004863/?r=0.536,0.186,0.25,0.107,0 accessed January 26, 2021.

Clark, Kathleen Ann. *Defining Moments: African American Commemoration and Political Culture in the South, 1863-1913*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Clarke, Nina Honemond. *History of the Nineteenth-Century Black Churches in Maryland and Washington, D. C*. Silver Spring: Bartleby Press, 1987.

Clarke, Nina H. and Lillian B. Brown, *History of the Black Public Schools of Montgomery County, Maryland 1872-1961*. New York: Vantage Press, 1978.

Cleveland Gazette, August 26, 1899.

Clines, Francis X. "A Place in Virginia Called Gum Springs." *New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1985.

Clinton A. M. E. Zion Church, Take a Walking Tour of Rockville's African American Heritage, https://www.rockvillemd.gov/DocumentCenter/View/978/Historic-Rockville-African American-Walking-Tour-Brochure?bidId= accessed September 28, 2020.

Code of Virginia. Richmond. William F. Ritchie, 1849. https://books.google.com/books?id=p1BRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA747&lpg=PA747#v=onepage&q&f=false accessed July 16, 2019.

Coffin, Chelsea. "Landscape of Diversity in D.C. Public Schools." December 17, 2018, D. C. Policy Center, https://www.dcpolicycenter.org/publications/landscape-of-diversity-in-dc-public-schools/#:~:text=D.C.'s%20public%20schools%20were,of%20Education%20and%20Bolling%20v

"Col. Perry H. Carson, The Life of a Natural Born Leader. His Services to His Party and People. He Was Honored by Mr. Blaine." *Washington Bee*, August 18, 1888.

College of Medicine, Howard University. https://medicine.howard.edu/about-us/mission-vision-and-core-values/short-history accessed March 11, 2020.

Colored Conventions Project, https://coloredconventions.org/ accessed March 1, 2021.

Communities, Chapter 3. http://mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/PDFs/254/Chapter%203%20-%20Communities.pdf accessed October 10, 2020.

Community Cornerstones: A Selection of Historic African American Churches in Montgomery County. Heritage Tourism of Alliance of Montgomery, https://www.heritagemontgomery.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/community-cornerstones-brochure.pdf accessed September 27, 2020.

Congressional Globe. 39th Congress, 1st Session, 475.

Congressional Record. House, 43rd Cong., 1st sess. 19 December 1873.

"CONSTITUTION OF THE FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF SALEM, FORMED FEBRUARY 22, 1832." *The Liberator*, Nov. 17, 1832.

Constitutional Amendments and Major Civil Rights Acts of Congress Referenced in Black Americans in Congress. United States House of Representatives, https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Data/Constitutional-Amendments-and-Legislation/ accessed January 24, 2020.

Contraband Camps in Northern Virginia. Boundary Stones, WETA, https://boundarystones.weta.org/2015/04/07/contraband-camps-northern-virginia accessed December 27, 2020.

Contrabands and Freedmen's Cemetery. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, NPS, https://dockets.alexandriava.gov/icons/PZ/BAR/ohad/cy12/060612/di09.PDF accessed July 10, 2019.

"Craven's Murderers" and "The Lynching of Charles Craven." *Richmond Planet*, August 23, 1902. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025841/1902-08-23/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=1902&index=6&rows=20&words=CHARLES+Charles+CRAVEN+Craven&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1902&proxtext=%22charles+craven%22&y=8&x=15&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1 accessed March 23, 2021.

"Crime in Virginia." *New Haven Daily Morning Journal and Courier* (New Haven, CT), November 11, 1889, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015483/1889-11-11/ed-1/seq-3/#date1=1888&sort=relevance&rows=20&words=Anderson+Owen&searchType=basic&sequence=0&index=0&state=&date2=1891&proxtext=%22owen+anderson%22&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3 accessed September 15, 2020.

Cromwell, John W. "The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia." *The Journal of Negro History* 7, no. 1 (1922): 64-106, https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/cromwell/cromwell.html accessed October 17, 2020.

Crossroads of War. http://www.crossroadsofwar.org/wpcontent/uploads/FrederickBethel_April1869.pdf accessed July 30, 2020.

Curtis Freewill Baptist Church, Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County. Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress, https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/wv/wv0300/wv0373/data/wv0373data.pdf accessed November 9, 2020.

Dabney, Lillian Gertrude. "The History of Schools for Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1807-1947." Ph.D. Diss. Catholic University of America, 1949.

Davis, Jennifer. "Mary Ann Shadd Cary: Lawyer, Educator, Suffragist." February 28, 2019, Library of Congress, https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2019/02/mary-ann-shadd-cary-lawyer-educator-suffragist/ accessed March 15, 2021.

DC Historic Alley Buildings Survey. District of Columbia Office of Planning, https://www.gov/shpo/downloads/dc-alleysurvey2014.pdf accessed June 22, 2021.

"Dean, Jennie Serepta (1848–1913)." *Encyclopedia of Virginia*, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/dean-jennie-serepta-1848-1913/ accessed March 23, 2021.

Delaney, David. Race, *Place & the Law 1836-1948*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998.

DeMello, Chelsea. "Historic Charles Town Building Nearly Restored." The Journal, January 28, 2015, https://wvpress.org/copydesk/insight/historic-charles-town-building-nearly-restored/ accessed June 10, 2020.

"Descendants of the Morningstar Tabernacle No. 88 Lodge of the Order of Moses Cabin John, Maryland." Bethesda Moses Cemetery, August 11, 2020, https://medium.com/@IRMediaLLC_39840/bethesda-moses-cemetery-50b386ad82b2 accessed March 14, 2021.

Description of National Association of Colored Women, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1815-1902, Ida Husted Harper, 1851-1931 and Susan B. Anthony, 1820-1906. In *History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 4: 1883-1900, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage*. Rochester, NY: Privately Published, 1902. Alexander Street, https://search-alexander-street-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C2770800#page/1/mode/1/chapter/bibliographic_entity|bibliographic_details|2770800 accessed March 6, 2021.

Desegregation Timeline, Montgomery County, Maryland, Public Schools. Montgomery History, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Integration-timeline.pdf, accessed January 24, 2021.

"DETERMINED TO AVENGE BIGUS: The Negroes in Frederick Marching the Streets with Arms in Their Hands." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 29, 1887, https://search-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/docview/174058471/7ED845DC89F40D9PQ/2?accountid=14696 accessed September 13, 2020.

Disfranchisement in Virginia. Virginia Places, http://www.virginiaplaces.org/government/disfranchisement.html accessed January 24, 2021.

"District Matters—Ku Klux," and "John Lanham Again—This Time as Ku Klux Leader —Have we a Ku-Klux Organization in our Midst? Ku-Klux Outrage in Giesboro." *New National Era*, June 15, 1871.

District of Columbia Inventory of Historic Sites. Government of the District of Columbia, Historic Preservation Review Board, September 20, 2009, https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Inventory%202009%200%20Alpha%20Version%2003%2011.pdf

"District Republicans. Both Factions Hold Meeting and the Carsonites Has Elected National Delegates." *The Sun*, Baltimore, January 13, 1892.

Doleman African American Heritage Museum, http://archives.dolemanblackheritagemuseum.org/documents/Fort-Frederick-Research-Files.pdf accessed July 25, 2020.

Douglass, Frederick. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1962, Reprint from the revised edition of 1892.

Downs, Gregory P. and Kate Masur. "The Era of Reconstruction, 1861-1900." National Historic Landmark Theme Study. NPS, http://www..history.com/publications/nhl/theme-studies/reconstruction-era.pdf accessed January 26, 2021.

Downs, Jim. Sick from Freedom: African American Illness and Suffering during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Oxford Scholarship Online: March 2015, https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199758722.001.0001/acprof-9780199758722-chapter-2 accessed January 30, 2021.

Downtown Frederick Self-Guided Walking Tour. African American Heritage Society.

"Dr. Montgomery Dead at Home Here: Former School Official Ill Only Brief Time; Teacher for 47 Years." *The Washington Post*, September 12, 1928.

Dray, Philip. *Capitol Men: The Epic Story of Reconstruction Through the Lives of the First Black Congressmen*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008.

Du Bois, W. E. B. Economic Co-operation among Negro Americans. Report of a Study made by Atlanta University, under the Patronage of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., together with the Proceedings of the 12th Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, held at Atlanta University, on Tuesday, May the 28th, 1907. Electronic Edition. Atlanta: The Atlanta University Press, 1907, https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/dubois07/dubois.html

Du Bois, W. E. B. *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880*. 1935. Reprint with Introduction by David Levering Lewis, 1992. New York: Free Press, 1998.

Dunbar High School History. Dunbar Alumni Federation, http://daf-dc.org/about/dunbar-history accessed September 17, 2019.

Editorial. *New National Era and Citizen*, Dec. 18, 1873.

Elliott, Mark. "Race, Color Blindness, and the Democratic Public: Albion W. Tourgée's Radical Principles in Plessy v. Ferguson." The Journal of Southern History 67, no. 2 (2001): 287-330. Accessed January 24, 2020. doi:10.2307/3069867.

Engle, Stephen D. "Mountaineer Reconstruction: Blacks in the Political Reconstruction of West Virginia." *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 78, no. 3, 1993.

Engle, Stephen D. Defining Reconstruction: How the Civil War Changed a People and a Nation. Workshop, April 27, 2019, Smithsonian Associates, Smithsonian.

Eric Foner Interview. "The 'Unresolved Legacy' Of Reconstruction." Fresh Air, NPR, June 5, 2020 (Originally Broadcast 2006), https://www.npr.org/2020/06/05/870862116/the-unresolved-legacy-of-reconstruction accessed June 8, 2020.

Erickson, Marie Anne. Chronicles of Frederick County: The Crossroads of Maryland. Charleston: The History Press, 2012. https://www.google.com/books/edition/Frederick_County_Chronicles/dCONCQAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=greensberry+barton+bartonsville&pg=PT146&printsec=frontcover accessed March 5, 2021.

Ernde, Laura. "City Slow to Change Name of Road." *Hagerstown Herald-Mail*, March 29, 1992, The collection of Doleman Black Heritage Museum, http://archives.dolemanblackheritagemuseum.org/documents/Washington-County-Blacks-Folder-8-Box-1.pdf accessed July 28, 2020.

Evening Times, Washington, D. C., August 9, 1899.

Exploring Congress Heights. https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Congress%2520Heights%2520Brochure.pdf accessed March 21, 2020.

Fain, Cicero. "Early Black Migration and the Post-emancipation Black Community in Cabell County, West Virginia, 1865-1871." West Virginia History. New Series, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall 2011) https://www.jstor.org/stable/43264896 accessed September 15, 2019.

Fairfax County History Commission Historical Highway Markers Map Tour. Fairfax County Department of Planning & Development, https://fairfaxcountygis.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=ba14ba6c3ec04705aa0e2ad5f7108bb0 accessed June 20, 2021.

Ferguson, Ernest B. *Freedom Rising: Washington During the Civil War*. New York: Vintage Books, 2004, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Freedom_Rising/h26PDQAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=was+%22McClellan+Barracks%22+at+camp+Barker+during+the+Civil+War%3F&pg=PA256&printsec=frontcover accessed March 17, 2021.

Ferguson, William Martain. *Methodism in Washington, District of Columbia, Being an Account of the Rise and Early Progress of Methodism in that City*. Baltimore: The Methodist Episcopal Book Depository, 1892, https://books.google.com/books?id=0oUAAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA65&lpg=PA65&dq=and+their+leaping+suggested+the+danger+of+descent+upon+the+heads+of+those+who+were+on+the+lower+floor.&source=bl&ots=ek147sntQt&sig=ACfU3U2utpgUVROO4t3NKqZuStnTZVBrfg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjO5OmOv6_sAhUZlHIEHf0fCFQQ6AEwAHoECAgQAg#v=onepage&q=and%20their%20leaping%20suggested%20the%20danger%20of%20descent%20upon%20the%20heads%20of%20those%20who%20were%20on%20the%20lower%20floor.&f=false accessed October 12, 2020.

Fernlund, Kevin J. "An Interview with Andrew Johnson," by Frederick Douglass (1866). In *Documents for America's History*, Volume 2: Since 1865. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2011 7th Ed.

"Fire in Hagerstown. George Parish, Colored, Loses the Savings of a Lifetime." *The Baltimore Sun*, December 19, 1901.

Fields, Barbara Jeanne. *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

"First Missionary Baptist Church: Our History." https://fmbaptistchurch.org/our-history/ accessed September 19, 2019.

"First of Three Young, Black Lynching Victims in Loudoun County to Be Memorialized." The Kojo Nnamdi Show, WAMU 88.5, https://wamu.org/story/19/06/18/first-of-three-young-black-lynching-victims-in-loudoun-county-to-be-memorialized/ accessed August 12, 2020.

Fitzpatrick, Sandra and Maria R. Goodwin, *The Guide to Black Washington: Places and Events of Historical and Cultural Significance in the Nation's Capital*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1999, Rev. Ed.

Fletcher, Patsy Mose. *Historically African American Leisure Destinations Around Washington, D.C.* Charleston: The History Press, 2015.

Fling, Sara. Washington, D.C.'s "Contraband" Camps. The White House Historical Association, https://www.whitehousehistory.org/washington-d-c-s-contraband-camps accessed June 21, 2021.

Floyd, Bianca P. *Records & Recollections: Early Black History in Prince George's County, Maryland*. The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1989.

Foner, Eric. "Civic Reflection: The Underside of History," Common Ground: Preserving Our Nation's Heritage, National Park Service (Winter/Spring 2007: 24-27, http://npshistory.com/newsletters/common_ground/winter-spring-2007.pdf

Foner, Eric. *Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011.

Foner, Eric. *Forever Free: The Story of Emancipation & Reconstruction*. New York: Vintage Books, 2006.

Foner, Eric. *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of the Underground Railroad*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015.

Foner, Eric. "Reconstruction." https://www.gov/articles/reconstruction.htm accessed July 25, 2019.

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction Updated Edition: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2014.

Foner, Philip S. and George E. Walker. *Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions 1865-1900*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.

Franklin, John Hope. *George Washington Williams: A Biography*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Frazier, E. Franklin. *The Negro in the United States*. New York: Macmillan, 1957.

"Free Public Schools." The Library of Virginia, https://www.lva.virginia.gov/exhibits/destiny/public_opinion/schools.htm accessed March 10, 2020.

Freedman's Village - Arlington National Cemetery. http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/freedman.htm accessed February 15, 2019.

Freedman's Village Facts. American History Central, https://www.americanhistorycentral.com/entries/freedmans-village-facts/ accessed January 27, 2021.

Freedmen's Bureau. *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, June 1, 2010, https://www.history.com/topics/Black-history/freedmens-bureau accessed February 14, 2019.

"Freedmen's Village." *Washington Post*, December 7, 1887.

Freedom's Classroom: Reconstruction. Poplar Hill on His Lordship's Kindness, https://www.poplarhillonhlk.com/aahp/education/recon.html accessed June 28, 2021.

Fry, Gladys-Marie. *Night Riders in Black Folk History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.

Fuke, Richard Paul. *Imperfect Equality: African Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Post-Emancipation Maryland*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1999.

Fuke, Richard Paul. "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor: The Black Family under Pressure in Post-Emancipation Maryland." *Agricultural History*, vol. 62, no. 4, 1988, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/3743375 accessed July 17, 2019.

Fullilove, Mindy Thompson. *Root Shock: How Tearing up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do about It*. New York: One World/Ballantine Books, 2004.

Fullilove, Mindy Thompson and Rodrick Wallace. "Serial Forced Displacement in American Cities, 1916–2010." *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 88, no. 3 (June 2011): 381–89, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-011-9585-2.

Gallucci-White, Gina. "Forgotten but Found: Rediscovering a Piece of African American History in Middletown." *Frederick Magazine*, https://www.fredmag.com/forgotten-found/ accessed September 22, 2019.

Gannon, Barbara. *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2011.

Gates, Jr., Henry Louis. "How Reconstruction Still Shapes American Racism." https://time.com/5562869/Reconstruction-history/ accessed June 30, 2019.

Gates Jr., Henry Louis. Reconstruction: America After the Civil War. WETA, PBS, 2019, https://www.pbs.org/weta/reconstruction/ accessed January 5, 2021.

Gates, Jr., Henry Louis. *Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow*. New York: Penguin Press, 2019.

Gatewood, Willard B. *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1990.

General Oliver Otis Howard House. NPS, https://www...gov/places/general-oliver-otis-howard-house.htm accessed January 8, 2020.

George F. T. Cook, "Historical Sketch of the Colored Schools, Past and Present." *First Report of the Board of Trustees of Public Schools of the District of Columbia, 1874-75*. Washington City: M'gill & Witherow, Printers and Stereotypers, 1876.

George Lewis Seaton House. Alexandria Virginia Walking Tour, https://www.theclio.com/tour/947/26/reverse

George Lewis Seaton House. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, NPS, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDF-Noms/100-5015-0007_George_Lewis_Seaton_House_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf accessed June 14, 2021.

"George W. Peck, Lynchings in Maryland." *The Sun*, Baltimore, n.d. https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings/ accessed September 6, 2020.

Gillem, Martha Gray. Interview. 1963. Vertical File, Biography – Gray, Virginia Collection, Arlington County Central Library, Arlington, VA. https://arlingtonblackheritage.org/life-of-gray-family/ accessed February 15, 2019.

Gillette, Jr., Howard. *Between Justice and Beauty: Race, Planning, and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington, D.C.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Glaros, Tony and T. K. Glaros. "Queens Chapel United Methodist Fills New South Laurel Sanctuary with Spirituality." *The Baltimore Sun*, July 18, 2012, https://www.baltimoresun.com/ph-ll-queens-chapel-0621-20120618-story.html accessed October 7, 2020.

Goshen United Methodist Church. https://www.goshenunited.org/history.html accessed September 28, 2020.

Gottlieb, Matthew S., "R. D. Ruffin (1842-1916)." Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Ruffin_Robert_D_1842-1916 accessed March 19, 2020.

Gozdzik, Gloria. A Historic Resource Story for Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, NPS, http://history.com/publications/hafe/storer.pdf accessed July 28, 2020.

Grand View School. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, NPS, http://www.wvculture.org/shpo/nr/pdf/jefferson/01000782.pdf accessed March 20, 2021.

Grantham, Jr., Dewey W. "Dinner at the White House: Theodore Roosevelt, Booker T. Washington, and the South." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 2. June 1958.

Green, Constance McLaughlin. *Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Green, Rodney, Judy K. Mulusa and Andre Byers. "The Indirect Displacement Hypothesis: A Case Study in Washington, D.C." The Review of Black Political Economy, January 2017, 44(1), https://doi.org/10.1007/s12114-016-9242-9

Greenfield, Sherry. "Historic Fort Frederick 'Colored School' to be Restored." HERALDMAILMEDIA.com, February 28, 2020, https://www.heraldmailmedia.com/news/local/historic-fort-frederick-colored-school-to-be-restored/article_6b474501-7690-552c-8a3b-ae8ab0947c2f.html accessed July 25, 2020.

Groves, Paul A. and Edward K. Muller. "The Evolution of Black Residential Areas in Late Nineteenth Century Cities." *Journal of Historical Geography*, 1975; 1:169–191.

"Guarding the Marlboro' Jail." *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., September 3, 1889, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=4&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13EA9B582AAA5148%402411249-13EA3B670156A6C0%405-13EA3B670156A6C0%40&firsthit=yes accessed August 24, 2020.

Guelzo, Allen C. *Reconstruction: A Concise History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Guild, June Purcell. *Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present*. Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1936. HathiTrust, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015058018006&view=1up&seq=9 accessed October 27, 2020.

Gum Springs Historical Society and Museum, Northern Virginia. https://www.virginia.org/listing/gum-springs-historical-society-and-museum/254/ accessed June 20, 2021.

Hackworth, Jason. "Postrecession Gentrification in New York City." *Urban Affairs Review* 37, no. 6 (July 1, 2002): 815–43, https://doi.org/10.1177/107874037006003 accessed July 5, 2020.

Haley, James T. "The Great Need of Negro Farmers." *Afro-American Encyclopaedia; Or, the Thoughts, Doings, and Sayings of the Race, Embracing Lectures. . .* Nashville: Haley & Florida, 1895.

Halltown Colored Free School, Halltown African American Schoolhouse. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, NPS http://www.wvculture.org/shpo/nr/pdf/jefferson/04000912.pdf accessed March 6, 2021.

Halltown Union Colored Sunday School. National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, NPS, http://www.wvculture.org/shpo/nr/pdf/jefferson/84003591.pdf, and https://npgallery.gov/GetAsset/285471a1-ba2c-4a5d-86cd-d11862a04479.

Halpin, Dennis Patrick. "Border State Reconstruction: How Black Marylanders Took the Fight for Racial Equality into Their Own Hands." *The Penn Press Log*. The University of Pennsylvania, https://pennpress.typepad.com/pennpresslog/2019/08/border-state-reconstruction-how-black-marylanders-took-the-fight-for-racial-equality-into-their-own-.html accessed January 24, 2020.

Halpin, Dennis Patrick. *A Brotherhood of Liberty: Black Reconstruction and Its Legacies in Baltimore 1865-1920*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019.

"Hamilton Hatter." West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History, http://www.wvculture.org/history/histamne/hatter.html

"HANGED ON SUGAR LOAF: Sergt. Volkman's Vivid Recollection of a Lynching." *The Washington Post*, Mar 23, 1896. https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/143754587/E58F3A6BFD834FADPQ/37?accountid=14696 accessed July 24, 2019.

Hardcastle, James R. "Howard University Looks to Its Neighbors." *New York Times*, April 4, 1999, http://www.howard.edu/library/ledroitpark/Hardcastle-JR990404.htm accessed July 28, 2020.

Harley, Genevieve A. "Restricting the Discriminatory Use of Peremptory Challenges."

Loyola University Chicago Law Journal, Vol. 20, Issue 4 (1989), https://lawecommons.luc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1749&context=luclj, accessed March 27, 2020.

Harpers Weekly, June 22, 1867.

Harriet Jacobs to Hannah Stevenson, March 10, 1864. Reprinted in Yellin, Jean Fagan, Joeph M. Thomas, Kate Culkin and Scott Korb, eds. The Harriet Jacobs Family Papers. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008. Cited in Paula Tarnapol Whitacre, "Harriet Jacobs: Working for Freedpeople in Civil War Alexandria," Journal of the Civil War Era. UNC Press, July 16, 2019, https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2019/07/harriet-jacobs-working-for-freedpeople-in-civil-war-alexandria/ accessed March 8, 2021.

Harris, Alfred. Encyclopedia of Virginia, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Harris_Alfred_W_1853-1920#start_entryA accessed March 20, 2020.

Harry W. Gray House. National Register of Historic Places, NPS, http://arlingtonva.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2015/04/Harry-W.-Gray-House-Final-PDF.pdf accessed June 6, 2020.

Hartman, Richard Ogden, "A Constitution of Our Own: The Constitutional Convention of 1872 and the Resurrection of Confederate West Virginia" (2004). Theses, Dissertations and Capstones. Paper 104, Marshall University.

Hasian, Marouf A. and Nicholas S. Paliewicz. "'The Blood of Lynching Victims Is in the Soil': Reconstruction Horrors and Post-Reconstruction Peonage." In *Racial Terrorism: A Rhetorical Investigation of Lynching*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2021.

Hasian, Marouf A. and Nicholas S. Paliewicz, "The Progressives, Ida Bell Wells-Barnett, and the Multiple Racisms That Marked Jim Crow Segregation." In *Racial Terrorism: A Rhetorical Investigation of Lynching*, 39-60. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2021, accessed March 7, 2021. doi:10.2307/j.ctv1fkgc9s.6

Headquarters Central Bureau of Relief, D.C. October 31, 1889, https://dh.howard.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1068&context=og_circulars accessed March 6, 2021.

"Health Care for the First Freedpeople." Black Past, https://www.Blackpast.org/African American-history/contraband-hospital-1862-1863-heath-care-first-freedpeople/ accessed September 3, 2019.

Henig, Gerald S. "The Indomitable Dr. Augusta: The First Black Physician in The U.S. Army." *Army History*, no. 87 (2013): 22-31, p. 29, www.jstor.org/stable/26298851 accessed March 11, 2020.

Henry, John. "Prince George's County: How a Community Grappled with Racism to Become a Destination for African Americans." WUSA9, March 15, 2019, https://www.wusa9.com/article/news/local/maryland/prince-georges-county-how-a-community-grappled-with-racism-to-become-a-destination-for-African Americans/65-3a70f85d-9216-4283-9ac7-668b51398b6f accessed September 18, 2019.

Henry, Thomas W. Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry of the A. M. E. Church. Baltimore: The Author, 1872, https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/henry/henry.html accessed March 5, 2021.

Herrin, Dean. "The 'Mob Fairly Howled': Lynching in Frederick County, Maryland, 1879-1895." Mss. (March 2020), https://aarchsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/History-of-Lynching-3.pdf

Hill, Herbert. *Black Labor and the American Legal System: Race, Work and the Law*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1977.

"Historic American Landscapes Survey DC-12: Theodore Roosevelt Island." Washington, D.C.: NPS, 2007.

Historic Properties of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, NPS, http://www.wvculture.org/shpo/nr/pdf/jefferson/64500728.pdf accessed March 21, 2021.

"Historical Interpretation and the National Park Service at Hampton National Historic Site." https://www.gov/parkhistory/online_books/hamp/historical_interpretation.pdf accessed September 18, 2019.

"Historical Significance." Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church / Davis Chapel, http://places.afrovirginia.org/items/show/366 accessed October 19, 2020.

"History and Status of Grace Church." Lincoln Community League, http://www.lincolncommunityleague.org/grace-church.html accessed November 27, 2020.

"History, Jerusalem-Mt. Pleasant UMC, Building Believers Together." https://jmpumc.org/about-us/history/ accessed November 13, 2020.

"History of African American Education in Montgomery County." Montgomery History, https://montgomeryhistory.org/history-of-African American-education-in-moco/ accessed January 30, 2021.

"History of Jerusalem Baptist Church, Jerusalem Road, Poolesville, Maryland," 1974. https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2017-51-12.pdf accessed September 28, 2020.

History of Mt. Zion Methodist Church. https://mtzionunitedmethodistchurchleesburg.org/history/ accessed November 3, 2020.

History of Prince George's County. http://chnm.gmu.edu/wvha/historical-overview/African American-history, accessed March 25, 2019.

History of Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Frederick Maryland, 1800-Present. quinnamefrederick.org accessed November 14, 2020.

Holmes, William F. "Whitecapping in Late Nineteenth Century Georgia." In *From the Old South to the New: Essays on the Transitional South*, 123. Praeger, 1981.

Holy Family Catholic Church, Mitchellville, MD. https://holyfamilywoodmore.org/history accessed October 6, 2020.

Hope Hill Colored School. Maryland Historical Trust, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Frederick/F-7-37.pdf accessed September 19, 2019.

Hopkins, G. M. Atlas of Fifteen Miles Around Washington, Including the County of Prince Georges, Maryland, Philadelphia, 1878, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3850m.gla00496/?sp=1&st=gallery accessed June 25, 2021.

"Housing of Negroes in Washington, D. C." *Monthly Labor Review* 30, no. 5 (1930): 13-18. http://www.jstor.org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/stable/41860873 accessed July 8, 2019.

"How Le Droit Park Came to be Added to the City." *The Washington Times*, May 31, 1903, Magazine Features, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1903-05-31/ed-1/seq-29/ accessed July 29, 2020.

Howard, O.O. Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, Major General, United States Army. New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 1907, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002004579588&view=1up&seq=9 accessed March 8, 2021.

Hume, Richard L. "The Membership of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1867-1868: A Study of the Beginnings of Congressional Reconstruction in the Upper South." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 86, no. 4 (1978): 461-84. Accessed March 24, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/4248257.

Hunter, Molly A. State Constitution Education Clause Language, Education Justice. https://edlawcenter.org/assets/files/pdfs/State%20Constitution%20Education%20Clause%20Language.pdf accessed March 20, 2021.

Hutchinson, Louise Daniel. *The Anacostia Story, 1608-1930*. Washington: Published for the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum of the Smithsonian Institution by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1977.

Illustrated Inventory of Historic Sites and Districts, Prince George's County, Maryland. The Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Prince George's County Planning Department, April 2011, http://mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/PDFs/237/Front%20Matter%20and%20Introduction.pdf accessed March 6, 2021.

Ingle, Edward. *The Negro in the District of Columbia*. Johns Hopkins Press: Baltimore, 1893.

Inscription, Laboring Sons Memorial Ground. HMdb.org, THE HISTORICAL MARKER DATABASE https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=110797 accessed March 28, 2021.

Insight Center for Community Economic Development. https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/85341/2000986-the-color-of-wealth-in-the-nations-capital.pdf accessed February 2, 2021.

Insurance Company of North America. Inspection and Survey Report of Public Schools Frederick County, Maryland. Helkfenstein & Urner, Agents, Frederick, Maryland, n.d..

"Interview with a Colored Member." *New National Era*, June 18, 1874.

"It is Just the Beginning." *Washington Bee*, Washington, D.C., August 8, 1896.

"Items from Baltimore Conference." *The Christian Recorder*, August 27, 1870.

Jackson, Luther Porter. Negro Office Holders in Virginia 1865-1895. Norfolk, Va.: Guide Quality Press, 1945-1946, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015014725082&view=1up&seq=5;.African

Jackson, Luther Porter. "The Planting of Negro Churches." *The Journal of Negro History 16, no. 2* (1931): 181-203, accessed November 4, 2020. doi:10.2307/2714082.

Jacob Francis Wheaton (1835-1924), Civil Rights and Education Figure. HMdb.org, The Historical Marker Database, https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=107266 accessed July 1, 2021.

Jaquette, Henrietta Stratton. "Friends' Association of Philadelphia For the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen." *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1975.

"James Bowens." Strange Fruit and Spanish Moss; http://strangefruitandspanish-moss.blogspot.com/2016/06/november-16-17-1895-james-bowens.html.

James, Portia. "The Most Pleasant and Healthful Place in All the Country. The History of Land Use and Settlement Along the Eastern Branch." East of the River, http://cdi.anacostia.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Portia-James-EOR-Article.pdf accessed September 3, 2019.

James Robinson Written Claim Filed with Southern Claims Commission, Manassas National Battlefield Park, https://www.gov/mana/learn/education/upload/Res5_JRobinson_claimSCC.pdf.

Jefferson County Public Schools—Then & Now, Jefferson County Museum, http://jeffcomuseumwv.org/virtual_exhibit/vex2/AEFCA9D6-4E5A-4E47-8B7A-854572646976.htm accessed March 21, 2021.

Jefferson County, WV, African American Heritage Trail Map. http://www.jcblackhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JCBHT_2013_WebVersion.pdf accessed July 28, 2020.

Jerusalem Baptist Church and Cemetery. Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey, Mont. 17-51-12, Maryland Historical Trust, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2017-51-12.pdf accessed September 28, 2020.

"Jim Crow to Civil Rights in Virginia." Virginia Museum of History and Culture, https://www.virginiahistory.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/jim-crow-civil-rights-virginia accessed February 3, 2020.

"Joe Vermilion's Body. Cut down from the Bridge Where He Was Hanged. . .," *The Sun*, Baltimore, MD, December 4, 1889, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-117108787307C438%402411341-11710878F70FB7E8%405-1171087A8A0133F8%40Joe%2BVermillion%2527s%2BBody.%2BCut%2Bdown%2Bfrom%2Bthe%2BBridge%2BWhere%2BHe%2BWas%2BHanged.%2BHow%2Bthe%2BLynchers&firsthit=yes accessed August 24, 2020.

"John Edmonston Brent." Uncrowned Community Builders, https://www.uncrownedcommunitybuilders.com/person/john-edmonston-brent accessed July 28, 2020.

"John F. Cook Dead." *Evening Star* (Washington, District of Columbia), Jan. 21, 1910.

John Henry Scott (African American), (Biographical Series), Archives of Maryland, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013730/html/13730bio.html accessed September 3, 2020.

John Mercer Langston School. National Register of Historic Places Program, NPS, https://www.gov/nr/feature/places/13000143.htm accessed September 17, 2020.

"John Roy Lynch (1847-1939): An Unusual Man Living in an Unusual Time." In Stanley Turkel, *Heroes of the American Reconstruction: Profiles of Sixteen Educators, Politicians and Activists*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Inc., 2005.

John Wesley Methodist Church. Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey, M: 13-49, https://mcatlas.org/filetransfer/HistoricPreservation/Cemeteries/099_John_Wesley_UM_Clarksburg/MHT_M-13-48_099_John_Wesley_UM_Clarksburg.pdf accessed September 28, 2020.

Johnson, Charles S. Negro Housing: Report of the Committee on Negro Housing. Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1932), https://archive.org/stream/negrohousingrepo00presrich/negrohousingrepo00presrich_djvu.txt. accessed March 8, 2021.

Johnson, Mary. "Hamilton Hatter." *The West Virginia Encyclopedia*, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/326 accessed March 26, 2020.

Johnson, II, William Page. "The Freedmen's Bureau and School at Fairfax Court House." *The Fare Facs Gazette*, 13:4, Fall 2016, https://www.historicfairfax.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/HFCI1304-2016.pdf accessed July 27, 2020.

"Johnsontown to Celebrate 165 Years of Rich History." *The Journal*, https://www.journal-news.net/news/local-news/johnsontown-to-celebrate-165-years-of-rich-history/article_f8106537-168d-5538-9862-506ce918cfbe.html accessed July 28, 2020.

"Johnstown Homecoming Festival Scheduled for August 14." Spirit of Jefferson Farmer's Advocate, Charlestown, August 10, 2011, http://sjf.stparchive.com/Archive/SJF/SJF08092011p018.php accessed November 3, 2020.

Jones, Alexandra. "Stop Destroying African American Cemeteries." *SAPIENS Anthropology Magazine*, https://www.sapiens.org/archaeology/African American-cemeteries-destruction/ accessed June 14, 2021.

Jones, Catherine A. "Women, Gender, and the Boundaries of Reconstruction." *Journal of the Civil War Era*, Vol. 8, No. 1, March 2018.

Joseph McCoy in Arlington, Racial Terror: Lynching in Virginia. https://sites.lib.jmu.edu/valynchings/VA1897042301/ accessed August 10, 2020.

"Judge Lynch." *The Daily Gazette*, Wilmington, Del., July 28, 1880, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014805/1880-07-28/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=1879&index=0&rows=20&words=Diggs+John&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1881&proxtext=John+Diggs+&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1 accessed September 12, 2020.

Julienne, Marianne E. "George Lewis Seaton." Dictionary of Virginia Biography, Library of Virginia, http://mlkcommission.dls.virginia.gov/lincoln/pdfs/bios/seaton_george_lewis.pdf accessed March 20, 2020.

Kaczorowski, Robert. "The Supreme Court and Congress's Power to Enforce Constitutional Rights: An Overlooked Moral Anomaly." *Fordham Law Review*, 73 (October 2004).

Kahrl, Andrew W. "The Political Work of Leisure: Class, Recreation, and African American Commemoration at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, Oxford University Press, 1881-1931." *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Fall, 2008).

Kathan, David, Amy Rispin and L. Paige Whitley. "The Forgotten African American Cemetery of River Road." April 3, 2017, https://mcatlas.org/filetransfer/HistoricPreservation/Cemeteries/327_River-Road-Moses_Bethesda/research/final2forgotten_african_american_community_of_river_road.pdf accessed October 10, 2020.

Kathan, David, Amy Rispin and L. Paige Whitley, "Tracing a Bethesda, Maryland, African American Community and Its Contested Cemetery." *Washington History*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Fall 2017.

Kelly Miller Residence Site. African American Heritage Trail, Cultural TourismDC, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/web/portal%20/kelly-miller-residence-site-African American-heritage-trail accessed January 8, 2020.

Kendrick, Ruby M. "They Also Serve": The National Association of Colored Women, Inc." *The Negro History Bulletin*, May, 1954, Vol. 17, No. 8, pp. 171-175, https://www-jstor-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/stable/pdf/44214997.pdf?ab_segments=0%252Fbasic_search_gsv2%252Ftest&refreqid=excelsior%3Ace9ba3013f577f10bfcb35994e123f2d accessed March 6, 2021.

Kennedy, Maureen and Paul Leonard, "Dealing with Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices." Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, April 2001, http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2001/04/metropolitanpolicy.

Kennedy-Nolle, *Sharon D. Writing Reconstruction: Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the Postwar South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

Kettner, *James H. Development of American Citizenship, 1608-1870*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carlina Press, 1978.

Kijakazi, Kilolo, Rachel Marie Brooks Atkins, Mark Paul, Anne E. Price, Darrick Hamilton, and William A. Darity Jr. *The Color of Wealth in the Nation's Capital*. (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2016 - a joint publication of the Urban Institute, Duke University, The New School, and the Insight Center for Community Economic Development), https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/85341/2000986-the-color-of-wealth-in-the-nations-capital.pdf accessed February 2, 2021.Durham, NC: Duke University, 2016.

Laboring Sons Cemetery, Frederick City, FHD-1301, Maryland Historical Trust, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Frederick/FHD-1301.pdf

Lake, Griffing & Stevenson. Sandy Hook, District No. 11, An Illustrated Atlas of Washington County, Maryland, 1877. Johns Hopkins Sheridan Libraries, https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/bitstream/handle/1774.2/32766/p.56%20Sandy%20Hook.jpg?sequence=44&isAllowed=y; https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/32766 accessed July 26, 2020.

Land Records of Prince George's County. The Ridgely Family in Prince George's Family, https://www.mncppc.org/DocumentCenter/View/438/The-Ridgley-Family-PDF accessed September 16, 2019.

Landmark Legislation: Civil Rights Act of 1875. United States Senate, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/CivilRightsAct1875.htm accessed September 18, 2019.

Landmark Legislation: The Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871. United States Senate, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/EnforcementActs.htm

Landmark Nomination Report. Jefferson County Historic Landmarks Commission, Mount Zion Freewill Baptist Church/Johnstown Church, http://jeffersoncountyhlc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Johnsontown_JCHLC_County_Nomination.pdf accessed November 3, 2020.

Langston, John Mercer (1829-1897). United States House of Representatives, https://history.house.gov/People/Detail/16682 accessed August 31, 2019.

Langston, John Mercer. *From the Virginia Plantation to The National Capitol*. New York: Fraus Reprint Co, 1969.

Langston, John Mercer and Jeremiah Eames Rankin. *Freedom and Citizenship*. Washington, D.C.: R.H. Darby, 1883.

LaRoche, Cheryl J., *Free Black Communities and the Underground Railroad: The Geography of Resistance*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014.

Laurel Grove School Museum, http://www.findglocal.com/US/Alexandria/919801181440175/Laurel-Grove-School-Museum accessed June 20, 2021.

Laws of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1862, Ch. 96.

Le Droit Park Historic District. NPS, https://www...gov/nr/travel/wash/dc65.htm#:~:text=Among%20the%20prominent%20African%20Americans,on%20the%20DC%20School%20Board.

Lee, Jr., John Michael and Samaad Wes Keys. Land-Grant but Unequal: State One-to-One Match Funding for 1890 Land-Grant Universities. The Office for Access & Success, Association of Public Land-Grant Universities, https://www.aplu.org/library/land-grant-but-unequal-state-one-to-one-match-funding-for-1890-land-grant-universities/file accessed June 28, 2021.

Leonard, Kevin. "St. Mark's, 'The Church on the Corner,' Celebrates 125th Anniversary." *Laurel Leader*, October 15, 2015, https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/laurel/ph-ll-st-marks-1015-20151015-story.html accessed October 7, 2020.

"LETTER FROM WASHINGTON. Correspondence of the Baltimore Sun," *The Sun*, May 31, 1867.

Levinson, Daryl J. "Rights and Votes." The Yale Law Journal, vol. 121, no. 6, 2012, pp. 1286–1363. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/41510449 accessed July 25, 2019.

Lewan, Todd and Dolores Barclay. 'When They Steal Your Land, They Steal Your Future.' *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 2, 2001, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2001-dec-02-mn-10514-story.html accessed March 6, 2021.

Libby, Jean, ed. *From Slavery to Salvation, The Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry of the AME Church*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1994.

"LIBERTY, AND EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW." Proceedings of the Convention of the Colored People of Va., held in the city of Alexandria, Aug. 2, 3, 4, 5, 1865. https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/272 accessed September 28, 2020.

"List of Members of the Anthropological Society of Washington, September 18, 1882." *Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington*, Vol. 1 American Anthropological Association Feb. 10, 1879 -Jan. 17, 1882.

"LIFE AMONG THE CONTRABANDS." *The Liberator*, September 5, 1862.

Lincoln, Abraham. *Collected Works*, Volume 8. Roy P. Basler, ed. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953.

Lloyd, Bria. "Descendants of African American Settlers Work to Preserve History of Early Settlements." Local DMV.com, February 15, 2019, https://www.localdvm.com/black-history-month/descendants-of-African American-settlers-work-to-preserve-history-of-early-settlements/ accessed June 14, 2021.

Lloyd, Jr., Sterling M. "A Short History, College of Medicine, Howard University." https://web.archive.org/web/20210315215207/https://medicine.howard.edu/about-us/mission-vision-and-core-values/short-history accessed January 8, 2020.

"Local Affairs." National GAR Records Program - Historical Summary of Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Posts by State, MARYLAND. Prepared by the National Organization, SONS OF UNION VETERANS OF THE CIVIL WAR http://www.suvcw.org/garrecords/garposts/md.pdf accessed July 30, 2020.

Locke, Alain, ed. *The New Negro: Voices of the Harlem Renaissance*, New York: Atheneum, 1992, 1925.

Lovettsville Historic District. Register of Historic Places Registration Form, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/255-5001_Lovettsville_HD_2012_NRHP_FINAL.pdf accessed September 15, 2019.

Logan, John R. "Racial Segregation in Postbellum Southern Cities: The Case of Washington, D.C.." Demographic Research, Vol. 36, Article 57, pp. 1759-1784, June 7, 2017, https://www.demographic-research.org/volumes/vol36/57/36-57.pdf accessed March 2, 2021.

Logan, Rayford W. *The Betrayal of the Negro* (Originally published as The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901), Collier Books, 1965.

"Lost Capitol Hill: 'The Little White Church Under the Hill.'" https://thehillishome.com/2010/05/lost-capitol-hill-the-little-white-church-under-the-hill/ accessed October 17, 2020.

Loudoun County African American Historic Architectural Resources Survey. Loudoun County Board of Supervisors &The Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library Leesburg, VA, 2004, https://www.loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/6978/Loudoun-County-African American-Architectural-Res?bidId= accessed November 18, 2020.

Low, W. A. "The Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights in Maryland." *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (July 1952), pp. 221-247, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2715492 accessed July 29, 2019.

Lowe, Zachary C. "Meanings of Freedom: Virginia Contraband Settlements and Wartime Reconstruction." Master's Thesis, Arts & Sciences, College of William & Mary, 2003, https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6418&context=etd accessed March 17, 2021.

Lynch, John R. *The Facts of Reconstruction*. The Neale Publishing Company, 1913, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16158/16158-h/16158-h.htm accessed September 23, 2019.

Lynch, John Roy. John Roy Lynch, Reminiscences of an Active Life, *The Autobiography of John Roy Lynch*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008.

"Lynch Law." *Sentinel* (response to the *Sun* editorial) Montgomery County, Maryland, January 16, 1880, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Sentinel_01-16-1880.pdf accessed September 6, 2020.

"Lynch Law, Again." *Richmond Dispatch*, February 19, 1880.

"Lynch Law in Maryland." *Baltimore Sun*, March 24, 1875.

"Lynch Law in Maryland." Register (Shepherdstown, WV), January 17, 1880, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Sentinel_01-16-1880.pdf accessed September 6, 2020.

"Lynch Law in Maryland." The *Baltimore Sun*, July 27, 1880, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=1&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=1879%20-%201881&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22John%20Diggs%22&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-11710E16600C5C68%402407925-11710E1672016440%400-11710E16EFDE5948%40Lynch%2BLaw%2Bin%2BMaryland.%2BRockville%252C%2BMd.%252C%2BJuly%2B27%252C%2B1880&firsthit=yes accessed September 13, 2020.

"Lynch Law in Maryland." Special Dispatch to the *Baltimore Sun*, *The Sun, Baltimore*, January 13, 1880, http://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Baltimore_Sun_Jan_13th-low_sized.pdf accessed September 6, 2020.

"Lynch Law in Maryland." Special Correspondence of the Star, *Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., January 13, 1880, http://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Evening_Star_Mon__Jan_12__1880_crop.pdf accessed September 6, 2020.

"Lynch Law in Maryland, Rockville, MD." *The Sun*, Baltimore, MD, July 28, 1880, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=1&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=1879%20-%201881&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22John%20Diggs%22&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-11710E16600C5C68%402407925-11710E1672016440%400-11710E16EFDE5948%40Lynch%2BLaw%2Bin%2BMaryland.%2BRockville%252C%2BMd.%252C%2BJuly%2B27%252C%2B1880&firsthit=yes accessed September 23, 2020.

"Lynch-Law in Montgomery County." *The Sun*, Baltimore, MD, Jan. 14, 1880, p. 2, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Sun_01-14-1880.pdf accessed September 23, 2020.

"Lynch Law in Prince George's." *The Aegis & Intelligencer*, Bel Air, MD, September 6, 1878, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016107/1878-09-06/ed-1/seq-2/#date1=1878&index=1&date2=1879&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&words=Alice+Green+Lynch+lynching+Michael+Sweeney&proxdistance=5&state=&rows=20&ortext=Lynch%2A&proxtext=&phrasetext=Alice+Sweeney&andtext=Michael+Green&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1 accessed September 15, 2020.

"Lynched." *Frederick News*, Nov. 18, 1895.

"Lynched at Alexandria." *Staunton Spectator and Vindicator*, April 29, 1897.

"Lynched by Citizens." *Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., July 31, 1902.

"Lynched by a Mob." *The Evening News*, San Jose, CA, December 3, 1889, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=5&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A11342729F00F3900%40EANX-113712FC23F0A730%402411340-113712FC85B7F188%402-113712FDF9E44C18%40Lynched%2Bby%2Ba%2BMob&firsthit=yes accessed August 24, 2020.

Lynching in America, Equal Justice Initiative, https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/ accessed July 25, 2019.

"Lynching in Upper Marlboro." *The Kent News*, September 7, 1878 (transcribed). Maryland State Archives, https://genealogytrails.com/mary/princegeorges/news_crime.html accessed August 14, 2020.

"Lynching of a Firebug." *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., December 3, 1889, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=5&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13EA4F06E7E224E0%402411340-13EA3CD6CAD7CD78%400-13EA3CD6CAD7CD78%40&firsthit=yes accessed August 24, 2020.

Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, Virginia. https://www...gov/mawa/learn/historyculture/maggie-lena-walker.htm accessed March 3, 2021.

Manning, Chandra. "Working Toward Citizenship in Civil War Contraband Camps." *Journal of the Civil War Era*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (JUNE 2014), pp. 172-204.

Map. African American churches in Montgomery county, https://www.heritage-montgomery.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/community-cornerstones-brochure.pdf accessed September 27, 2020.

Map of Maryland's Lynching History. mdlynchingmemorial.org/lynchings-in-maryland accessed August 27, 2020.

Marleaux, King. "What I Saw and Heard." *The Washington Bee*, Washington, DC, Vol. VIII, Nov. 16, 1889 and Nov. 9, 1889.

Martenet, Simon J. Atlas of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1861. Adapted from "Martenet's Map of Prince George's County, Maryland." Baltimore: Simon J. Martenet C.E., 1861, LOC https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3843p.la000302/?r=0.277,0.352,0.463,0.229,0 accessed June 25, 2021.

Martenet, Simon J. Martenet & Bond, and Schmidt & Trowe. Martenet and Bond's Map of Montgomery County, Maryland. Baltimore: Simon J. Martenet, 1865. Map. Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2002620533/ accessed July 1, 2021.

Martin, Erika, Mia Parsons and Paul Shackel. "Commemorating a Rural African American Family at a National Battlefield Park." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1997, pp. 157–177. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/20852880 accessed 21 June 2021.

Martinkosky, Christina. "Preservation Matters: Early Efforts to Provide Opportunities for African American Youth." *The News-Post*, Frederick, MD, February 24, 2020.

Mary Ann Shadd Cary House. National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, NPS, https://npgallery.gov/GetAsset/d40c021e-91e4-4387-9603-ec7c329d8189 accessed June 21, 2021.

Maryland Historical Trust Worksheet. Nomination Form for the National Register of Historic Places, NPS, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2020-9.pdf accessed November 12, 2020.

Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission. Postbellum Archeological Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland, A Historic Context and Research Guide, 2010, http://mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/BookDetail.cfm?item_id=217&Category_id=3 accessed July 18, 2020.

Mason, Ann Michele. "Nannie H. Burroughs' Rhetorical Leadership During the Inter-War Period." Ph.D. Diss, University of Maryland, 2008.

Masur, Kate. *An Example for All the Land: Emancipation and the Struggle over Equality in Washington, D.C.* The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

May, Nicholas. "Holy Rebellion: Religious Assembly Laws in Antebellum South Carolina and Virginia." *The American Journal of Legal History* 49, no. 3 (2007): 237-56.

McCormick, Liz. "Storer College Celebrates 150-Year Legacy." WV Public Broadcasting, Nov. 15, 2017, https://www.wvpublic.org/news/2017-11-15/storer-college-celebrates-150-year-legacy accessed July 1, 2021.

McDaniel, George W. Hearth & Home, *Preserving a People's Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982.

McGruder, Kevin and Velma Maia Thomas. Emancipation Proclamation—"Forever Free." Chicago: Urban Ministries, Inc., 2013.

McGuckian, Eileen. "Black Builders in Montgomery County 1865-1940." Montgomery County Story, Vol. 35, No. 1, February 1992, http://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Vol35No1_MCStory.pdf accessed March 18, 2021.

McKissick, Floyd. *3/5 of a Man*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1969.

McPherson, Edward. *A Political Manual*. Washington, DC: Philp & Solomon, 1867.

McQuirter, Marya Annette. A Brief History of African Americans in Washington, D. C. Cultural Tourism DC, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/a-brief-history-of-African Americans-in-washington-dc accessed July 8, 2019.

"Meeting at the Capitol Last Night." *The Richmond Dispatch*, August 2, 1867, https://reconstructingvirginia.richmond.edu/items/show/679 accessed February 28, 2021.

Meier, August. *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915*. Ann Arbor, 1963.

Memorial of the Executive Committee of the Late National Convention of Colored Men of the Country. 40th Congress, 3rd Session, Mis. Doc. No. 44, Feb. 5, 1869, https://librarycompany.org/geniusoffreedom/northern-blacks-and-the-reconstruction-amendments/ accessed August 27, 2019.

"Memorial of the National Convention of Colored Persons, praying to be protected in their civil rights." National Civil-Rights Convention, Washington, D. C., December 1873. 43rd Congress, 1st Ses., Mis. Doc. No. 21, U. S. Senate, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc1.50076352, accessed February 28, 2021.

Metcalf, Andrew. "First Jonesville Home to Be Featured at Smithsonian's African American Museum." *Bethesda Magazine*, https://bethesdamagazine.com/bethesda-beat/news/first-jonesville-home-to-be-featured-at-smithsonians-African American-museum/ accessed September 16, 2019.

Methodist Episcopal Church, City of Rockville, https://www.rockvillemd.gov/2197/Methodist-Episcopal-Church accessed November 13, 2020.

Meyer, Eugene L. "Once Upon a Time in Montgomery County." *Bethesda Magazine*, February 2018. https://bethesdamagazine.com/bethesda-magazine/september-october-2011/once-upon-a-time-in-montgomery-county/ accessed July 23, 2019.

"Michael Green." (Biographical Series), Archives of Maryland, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013788/html/13788bio.html accessed September 3, 2020.

Miner Normal School. (Miner Building, Howard University) https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/386 accessed September 19, 2019.

Miner Normal School. DC Historic Sites, https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/386?tour=5&index=2 accessed June 29, 2021.

Minnix, William H and Henrietta V. to Henry Edwards, Thomas Quinn, Thomas Matthews, Ferdenand Key, Knotley Johnson and James Powell. Deed. Prince George's County, 1868.

Montaperto, Kristin Marie. "Public Archaeology and the Northampton Slave Quarters: Community Collaboration." Ph. D. diss, American University, 2012.

Montgomery County, Maryland, Historical Chronology, Maryland Manual On-Line, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/36loc/mo/chron/html/mochron.html

Montgomery County, Maryland: Our History and Government. Montgomery County Government, 1999, https://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/cct/Resources/files/history.pdf accessed June 20, 2021.

Montgomery, William E. "African American Churches in Virginia, 1865-1900." *Encyclopedia of Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/African_American_Churches_in_Virginia_1865-1900 accessed October 27, 2020.

Montgomery, Winfield S. "Historical Sketch of Education for the Colored Race in the District of Columbia, 1807-1905." *Report of the Board of Education, 1904-05*.

Moore, Jacqueline M. *Leading the Race: Transformation of the Black Elite in the Nation's Capital 1880-1920*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.

Morefield, Betty L. "William Obediah Robey" in *Essence of a People II: African Americans Who Made Their Lives Anew in Loudoun County, Virginia, and Beyond*. Leesburg: Thomas Balch Library, 2002.

Morley, Jefferson. "From Abolitionism to OccupyDC." https://www.salon.com/2012/01/16/from_abolition_to_occupydc/ accessed June 11, 2020.

Moss, Hilary J. *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African American Education in Antebellum America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Mount Pleasant Baptist Church and Cemetery, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/076-6009_MountPleasantBaptistChurch_2020_NRHP_FINAL.pdf accessed March 20, 2021.

Mount Pleasant Baptist Church and Cemetery, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, DHR # 076-6009 https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/076-6009_MountPleasantBaptistChurch_2020_NRHP_FINAL.pdf accessed June 20, 2021.

Mt. Calvary AUMP Church Cemetery. Montgomery County Cemetery Inventory Revisited, https://www.montgomerypreservation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/107_Mt-Calvary_AUMP_Spencerville_2018_Survey.pdf accessed November 12, 2020.

Mt. Nebo African Methodist Episcopal Church. Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/stagsere/se1/se5/018000/018900/018922/pdf/msa_se5_18922.pdf accessed November 29, 2020.

Mt. Pleasant Church and Cemetery. Maryland Historical Trust, Historic Sites Inventory Form, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2023-113-1.pdf accessed December 2, 2020.

Muller, John. *Frederick Douglass in Washington, D. C.: The Lion of Anacostia*. Charleston: The History Press, 2012.

"Murdered Him," and "No Action Taken." Richmond Planet, May 1, 1897, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025841/1897-05-01/ed-1/seq-1/ accessed August 1, 2020.

Murphey, Ric and Tim Stephens. *Section 27 and Freedman's Village: The African American History of America's Most Hallowed Ground*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2020.

Myers, William Starr. "The Self-Reconstruction of Maryland, 1864-1867." *John Hopkins University Studies on Historical and Political Science*, Series XXVII, Nos. 1-2. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1909.

National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Listings, https://www.gov/subjects/undergroundrailroad/upload/2018_NTF-Listings_Web.pdf accessed July 4, 2021.

"Negro Is Lynched Within 30 Miles of Nation's Capital." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 1, 1902.

New Market African American Cemetery, Maryland Historical Trust, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Frederick/F-5-164.pdf accessed March 21, 2021.

New National Era, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1873.

"News Article." *Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., April 18, 1879, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22James%20Carroll%22%20lynching&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13DCD68A7079A718%402407458-13DCBBC2E01E1F48%401-13DCBBC2E01E1F48%40&firsthit=yes accessed September 23, 2020.

"News Article." *Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., May 16, 1883.

"News Article." *Evening Star*, Oct. 3, 1889.

Newmark, Jill. Contraband Hospital, 1862-1863: Health Care for the First Freedpeople. Black Past, accessed September 3, 2019, https://www.Blackpast.org/African American-history/contraband-hospital-1862-1863-heath-care-first-freedpeople/.

Nicholson, J. "Letter from Maryland." *The Christian Recorder*, November 10, 1866.

"No Justification for Lynch Law." *The Sun*, Baltimore, MD, September 5, 1878, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=1&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-116E5E4CB75B5F18%402407233-116E5E4D0C11A538%401-116E5E4E67B04740%40No%2BJustification%2Bfor%2BLynch%2BLaw&firsthit=yes accessed August 24, 2020.

Notarianni, Alicia. "Hagerstown Observes 150th Anniversary of Civil War with Ceremonial Observance." *Herald-Mail Media*, https://www.heraldmailmedia.com/news/local/hagerstown-observes-th-anniversary-of-civil-war-with-ceremonial-observance/article_eda381a2-230b-11e3-8311-001a4bcf6878.html accessed July 18, 2020.

Novack, William J. *Legal Transformation of Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century America*. American Bar Foundation, 2001.

Ocejo, Richard E. "The Early Gentrifier: Weaving a Nostalgia Narrative on the Lower East Side." City & Community 10, no. 3 (2011): 285–310, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2011.01372.x.

Odd Fellows Hall. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, NPS, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/100-5015-0005_Odd_Fellows_Hall_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf accessed June 14, 2021.

"Of Race Interest. Afro-American Journals on the Results of the Recent Election." *Cleveland Gazette*, November 23, 1889.

Old Anacostia and Hillsdale. African American Heritage Trail, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/303 accessed July 28, 2020.

Oldest Alexandria African American Church. https://theotheralexandria.com/oldest-alexandria-African American-baptist-church/ accessed September 28, 2020.

"On This Day—Nov. 8, 1889, Young Black Man Lynched for Allegedly Frightening White Girl in Leesburg, Virginia." EJI, https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/nov/8 accessed September 15, 2020.

Our History, Greater Mt. Nebo African Methodist Episcopal Church. https://gmnebo.org/about/our-history.

"Our Story." Shiloh Baptist Church, https://www.shilohbcva.net/our-story accessed October 27, 2020.

Out of the Attic. Alexandria Times. Office of Historic Alexandria City of Alexandria, Virginia, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/attic/2011/Attic20110414OddFellows.pdf.

Painter, Nell Irvin. "Sojourner Truth (1799-1883)." In *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, Vol. II. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Painter, Nell Irvin. "The Flames of Racial Hatred." *The Washington Post*, February 4, 1996, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/entertainment/books/1996/02/04/the-flames-of-racial-hatred/b3d0b040-39a0-411a-a3f9-cf694d0be6d8/ accessed March 4, 2021.

Parmet, Robert D. "Schools for the Freedmen." *Negro History Bulletin* 34, no. 6 (1971): 128-32. Accessed July 27, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/24766513.

Pearl, Susan G. Prince George's County African American Heritage Survey. Upper Marlboro, MD: Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1996.

Pearne, Thomas H. "Methodist Freedmen's Bureau." *Christian Advocate*, May 21, 1874.

Pelaez, Jasmine. "Local Society Sheds Light on Historic Black Schools and Churches." Local DMV.com, https://www.localdvm.com/news/i-270/local-society-sheds-light-on-historic-black-schools-and-churches/

People's Advocate, Washington, D. C. July 12, 1879, and February 21, 1880.

"Perry H. Carson Dead." *New York Times*, November 01, 1909.

Pitre, Merline, "Frederick Douglass: The Politician vs. the Social Reformer." Phylon (1960) 40, no. 3 (1979): 270-77. Accessed January 24, 2020. doi:10.2307/274569.

Pittman, Erin. "Lucasville School: Bringing Post-Civil War African American Education to Life." *Prince William Living*, https://princewilliamliving.com/lucasville-school-bringing-post-civil-war-African American-education-to-life

Pitts, Jonathan. "Lynchings in Maryland." *Baltimore Sun*, n.d. https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings/ accessed January 28, 2020.

Pleasant View: From Civil War to Civil Rights. Preservation Maryland, https://www.preservationmaryland.org/pleasant-view-civil-war-to-civil-rights/ accessed September 23, 2019.

"Pleasant View Historical Site Named One of Preservation Maryland's Six-to-Fix." Quince Orchard Project, https://thequinceorchardproject.com/188-2/ accessed November 12, 2020.

"Point of Rocks." *Catoctin Clarion*, February 19, 1880.

Pollard, Robert A. ed. *The History of the Loudoun County Courthouse and Its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice, and Racial Equality in Loudoun County*. The Report of Loudoun County Heritage Commission,

https://www.loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/151802/Heritage-Commission-Report-Final?bidId= accessed December 28, 2020.

Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862. A Transcription, https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/american_originals_iv/sections/transcript_preliminary_emancipation.html accessed January 23, 2020.

"Presidential Proclamations -- Establishment of the Reconstruction Era National Monument." The White House, January 12, 2017, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/12/presidential-proclamations-establishment-reconstruction-era-national accessed June 26, 2020.

Preston, Emmett D. "The Development of Negro Education in the District of Columbia, 1800-1860." *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 2 (1943): 189-98.

Priest, D. "Arlington Bequest a Footnote in Black History." *The Washington Post,* February 27,1990.

"Prince George's County. Chief Judge Briscoe Utters a Warning Against the Practice of Lynching." *The Sun*, Baltimore, MD, April 4, 1899.

Prince George's County (Coroner Inquests), October 12, 1869.

Proceedings and Debates of the 1864 Constitutional Convention. Volume 102, Volume 1, Debates 1926, Archives of Maryland Online, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000102/html/am102d--1926.html.

"Proceedings of the Civil Rights Mass-Meeting held at Lincoln Hall, October 22, 1883. Speeches of Hon. Frederick Douglass and Robert G. Ingersoll." Colored Conventions Project Digital Records, accessed January 23, 2020, https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/1194.

"Proceedings of the National Convention of the Colored Men of America: held in Washington, D.C., on January 13, 14, 15, and 16, 1869." http://coloredconventions.org/items/show/452 accessed August 29, 2019.

Proclamation 9576—Establishment of the Reconstruction Era National Monument. Administration of Barack Obama, 2017, https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-201700017/html/DCPD-201700017.htm accessed June 21, 2021.

"Prout, Mary Ann." *African American National Biography*, eds. Henry Louis Gates and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham. Vol. 6. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Pugh, Kari. "Stolen Land: Life After the Civil War." February 15, 2005, WUSA9.com, http://www.wusa9.com/news/news_article.aspx?storyid=37158 accessed July 5, 2020.

Pulliam, Ted. *Historic Alexandria: An Illustrated History*. San Antonio: Historical Publishing Network, 2011.

Queen's Chapel and Burial Ground. Maryland Historical Trust, Determination of Eligibility Form, http://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/Documentations/62-023-21/62-023-21.pdf accessed November 30, 2020.

Queen's Chapel United Methodist Church, Our History. http://www.queenschapelumc.org/history.html accessed November 30, 2020.

Quinn AME Church (African Methodist Episcopal). Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey FHD-822, No. 8, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Frederick/FHD-822.pdf accessed June 20, 2021.

Rable, George C. *But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984.

Racial and Ethnic Tensions in American Communities: Poverty, Inequality, and Discrimination—Volume VII: The Mississippi Delta Report. https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/msdelta/ch3.htm accessed July 25, 2019.

Randall, Frances A. "Exploring Eastern Frederick County." *The Frederick News-Post*, March 11, 2016, https://www.fredericknewspost.com/news/arts_and_entertainment/history/exploring-eastern-frederick-county/article_579d1f2d-7422-5eaf-9cb5-c3014ca4e7d5.html accessed November 16, 2020.

"Randolph Lynched," *The Evening Star*, July 4. 1896, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/19778286/sidney_randolph_lynched/ accessed September 6, 2020.

"Reconstructing the Region." http://www.crossroadsofwar.org/wp-content/uploads/LATEST-Reconstruction-revised-DH-with-images1.pdf, accessed February 27, 2021.

"Records of the Field Offices for the States of Maryland and Delaware." United States Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872 [microfilm], archive.org/details/recordsoffiemary0024unit/page/n7/mode/2up accessed January 5, 2021.

Rehoboth Baptist Church Documents its 150 Year History." June 1, 2015, HumanitiesDC, https://humanitiesdc.org/news/rehoboth-baptist-church-documents-its-150-year-history/ accessed October 15, 2020.

Reidy, Joseph P. "'Coming from the Shadow of the Past': The Transition from Slavery to Freedom at Freedman's Village, 1863-1900." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 95, no. 4 (1987): 403-28.

"Replace or Modernize? The Future of the District of Columbia's Endangered Old and Historic Public Schools." Educational Resources Information Center, U. S. Department of Education, p. 23, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED454694.pdf accessed June 25, 2021.

Report and Testimony of the Select Committee to Investigate the Causes of the Removal of the Negroes from the Southern States to the Northern States, in Three Parts. United States Congress, Senate Select Committee on Negro Exodus, 1880, XXII. https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/210633 accessed July 8, 2019.

"Report Names Maryland Among Non-Southern States with Most Lynchings." *Frederick News-Post*, July 6, 2017, https://www.fredericknewspost.com/news/social_issues/report-names-maryland-among-non-southern-states-with-most-lynchings/article_0f7a07e0-4d6b-546e-adf8-bd4396d5da35.html accessed September 22, 2020.

Report of the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872, https://books.google.com/books?id=Ji42AQAAIAAJ&pg=PA2&lpg=PA2&dq=were+alleged+to+be+most+seriously+threatened+by+the+existence+and+acts+of+organized+bands+of+armed+and+disguised+men,+known+as+Ku-Klux&source=bl&ots=Q6zELVX8x_&sig=ACfU3U0WgXMeQSRu7srKnyYeu2mzrEp9mA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjT-b7isLzrAhVKhHIEHeNACBgQ6AEwAnoECAIQAQ#v=onepage&q=were%20alleged%20to%20be%20most%20seriously%20threatened%20by%20the%20existence%20and%20acts%20of%20organized%20bands%20of%20armed%20and%20disguised%20men%2C%20known%20as%20Ku-Klux&f=false;

Report of the minority, in report and testimony of the select committee to Investigate the causes of the removal of the Negroes from the southern states to the northern states. Kansas Memory, https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/210633 accessed August 27, 2020.

Report of the Select Committee on Reconstruction, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t25b05z8t;view=1up;seq=17 accessed July 25, 2019.

Report on Ground-penetrating Radar Surveys: Possible Cemeteries within Fort Ward Historical Park, Alexandria, Virginia. October 19-20, 2009, Sarah Lowry, M.A., Alexandria Archaeology, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/SiteReportLowry2009FortWardGPR.pdf accessed March 18, 2021.

"Rev. J.H.A. Johnson, D.D." The Christian Recorder, May 12, 1887.

Rhodes, Jane. *Mary Ann Shadd Cary*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998.

Richmond Planet, August 12, 1899.

Ricks, Mary Kay. *Escape on the Pearl: The Historic Bid for Freedom on the Underground Railroad*. New York: William Morrow, 2007.

Riddleberger, Patrick W. "The Radicals' Abandonment of the Negro During Reconstruction." The Journal of Negro History, vol. 45, no. 2, 1960, pp. 88–102, www.jstor.org/stable/2716572 accessed July 25, 2019.

Ridgley Methodist Episcopal Church. National Register of Historic Places, NPS, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-1402.pdf accessed October 10, 2020.

Ripley, C. Peter ed., *The Black Abolitionist Papers Volume V*, The United States, 1859-1865. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Rives, F. & J. *The Congressional Globe: The Debates and Proceedings of the First Session of the Thirty-Ninth Congress*. City of Washington: The Congressional Globe Office, 1866.

Roach, Brett R. "Prejudice Against Blacks Freed in Post-Civil War Washington." *Negro History Bulletin* Vol. 48, No 1 (Jan. Feb. Mar. 1985), 3-6.

Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church. https://theotheralexandria.com/roberts-memorial-united-methodist-church/ accessed November 17, 2020.

Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church. Alexandria Sites on the National Register of Historic Places, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=29750 accessed November 17, 2020.

Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church. National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, https://web.archive.org/web/20130813143134/ http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/registers/Cities/Alexandria/100-5015-0006_Roberts-MemorialUnitedMethodistChurch_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf accessed October 20, 2020.

Robinson, Debbie. "Educating Freedmen During Reconstruction in Fairfax County." Northern Virginia History Notes, http://www.novahistory.org/FreedmenEducation/FreedmenEducation.htm accessed June 20, 2020.

Robinson House. Virginia Historical Markers, http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMK0Q_James_Robinson_House

"Rockville." *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., November 27, 1896.

Ross Powell House, 22 Martin's Lane, Maryland Historical Trust Maryland Inventory of Inventory Historic Properties Form No. M:26/16/1, https://www.rockvillemd.gov/DocumentCenter/View/997/22MartinsLa-MHT?bidId= accessed March 18, 2021.

Rotenstein, David S. "Protesting Invisibility in Silver Spring, Maryland." *The Activist History Review*, https://activisthistory.com/2017/06/23/protesting-invisibility-in-silver-spring-maryland/ accessed June 23, 2017.

Rotenstein, David S. "The Moses Cemetery: Where Serial Displacement Meets History." *The Activist History Review*, December 1, 2017, https://web.archive.org/web/20210304120547/https://activisthistory.com/2017/12/01/the-moses-cemetery-where-serial-displacement-meets-history/ accessed June 25, 2021.

Roy, Lisa. "Storer College (1867-1956)." December 18, 2013, https://www.blackpast.org/African American-history/storer-college-1867-1956/ accessed January 8, 2020.

Saffer, Wynne. "Loudoun Votes: A Civil War Legacy." In Robert A. Pollard, ed. "Report of the Loudoun County Heritage Commission: The History of the County Courthouse and its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice and Racial Equality in Loudoun County," March 1, 2019. https://loudoun.granicus.com/MetaViewer.php?view_id=79&clip_id=5918&meta_id=161436

Salerno, Beth A. *Sister Societies: Women's Antislavery Organizations in Antebellum America*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005.

Samito, Christian G. *Lincoln and the Thirteenth Amendment*. Carbondale: South Illinois University Press, 2015.

Samito, Christian G., ed., *The Greatest and Grandest Act: The Civil Rights Act of 1866*. Carbondale: South Illinois University Press, 2018.

Sanders, Mark A. ed. *A Son's Return: Selected Essays by Sterling A. Brown*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996.

Scheel, Eugene. "Timeline of Important Events in African American History in Loudoun County, Virginia." http://www.loudounhistory.org/history/African American-chronology/ accessed March 20, 2021.

Schildt, Roberta. "Freedman's Village: Arlington, Virginia, 1863-1900." *The Arlington Historical Magazine*, 1984. Vol.7 no.41.

Schneider, Richard. *African American History in the Press*, Volume 1, Gale Research, 1996.

School Reports of the 10th Sub District of Virginia, various dates. Freedmen Bureau Field Office Records 1863-1878. Cited in Debbie Robison, "Educating Freedmen During Reconstruction in Fairfax County." Dec. 6, 2014, Northern Virginia History Notes, http://www.novahistory.org/FreedmenEducation/FreedmenEducation.htm accessed March 21, 2021.

Schramm, Peter W. "The Heroic Effort of Booker T. Washington." Claremont Review of Books, https://claremontreviewofbooks.com/digital/the-heroic-effort-of-booker-t-washington/ accessed March 23, 2021.

Schulte, Brigid. "On Tours, Uncovering Forgotten Footprints." *The Washington Post*, December 14, 2000, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2000/12/14/on-tours-uncovering-forgotten-footprints/2429bd17-4aa9-4192-ab56-430a7a6e5611/ accessed June 11, 2020.

Schweninger, Loren. "Black-Owned Businesses in the South, 1790-1880." *The Business History Review*, 63:1 (1989).

Scotland AME Zion Church, Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2029-15.pdf accessed November 12, 2020.

"Segregation and the Effect of Jim Crow Laws in Maryland," Museum Connection: Culture, Art and Enlightenment, http://marylandpublicschools.org/about/Documents/DCAA/RFLM/13_JimCrowinMD_06202012.pdf.

Seraile, William. *Fire in His Heart*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998.

Session Laws 181, An act to incorporate the Maryland State Colonization Society. Passed Mar. 14, 1832, Vol. 213, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000213/html/am213--426.html; Vol. 665, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000665/html/am665--448.html accessed June 25, 2021.

Shapiro, Herbert. "Afro-American Responses to Race Violence during Reconstruction." *Science & Society 36*, no. 2 (1972): 158-70, www.jstor.org/stable/40401634 accessed June 20, 2020.

Shaw, Stephanie J. "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women." *Journal of Women's History*, Volume 3, Number 2, Fall 1991.

Shawkey, M. P. Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Free Schools of West Virginia for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1914. Charlestown: Department of Free Schools, 1914. https://books.google.com/books?id=6V0dAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA31&lpg=PA31&dq=I+regret+to+report+that+there+are+not+schools+for+the+children+of+this+portion+of+our+citizens;+as+the+laws+stands+I+fear+that+they+will+be+compelled&source=bl&ots=64yZSNzm40&sig=ACfU3U3AzynrlftBTR1w9OvOIZ9W4V3OPg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwin_fywp6XqAhUoonIEHRtDCt8Q6AEwAXoECAsQAQ#v=onepage&q=I%20regret%20to%20report%20that%20there%20are%20not%20schools%20for%20the%20children%20of%20this%20portion%20of%20our%20citizens%3B%20as%20the%20laws%20stands%20I%20fear%20that%20they%20will%20be%20compelled&f=false accessed June 28, 2020.

"Shocking Outrage by a Negro Man"; "Lynched." *The Star Democrat*, Easton, MD, August 10, 1880.

Shoenfeld, Sarah. "The History and Evolution of Anacostia's Barry Farm." July 9, 2019, D. C. Policy Center, https://www.dcpolicycenter.org/publications/barry-farm-anacostia-history/ accessed March 1, 2021.

Shoenfeld, Sarah and Mara Cherkasky. Mapping Segregation in Washington, DC. Preservation Leadership Forum, National Trust for Historic Preservation, https://forum.savingplaces.org/blogs/special-contributor/2015/06/22/mapping-segregation-in-washington-dc accessed June 22, 2021

Shroder, Tom. "Out of the Mud." *Washington Post Magazine*, December 8, 2002.

Silberman, *Charles E. Crisis in Black and White*. New York: Random House, 1964.

Simkins, Chris and Jemima Homawoo. "Controversy Over Former Black Cemetery Uncovers History of Forgotten Community." May 5, 2017, Voice of America News, https://www.voanews.com/a/controversy-former-black-cemetery-uncover-forgotten-community/3838990.html accessed July 30, 2020.

Slagle, Eric. "Home Safe Home: Blacks Found Refuge in Small Villages." *Frederick News-Post*, Feb. 20, 2004, https://www.fredericknewspost.com/archives/home-safe-home-blacks-found-refuge-in-small-villages/article_2b5dcb9f-2306-5981-8dfa-dad40660bd2e.html accessed September 19, 2019.

Slavery and Emancipation in Sharpsburg, MD. Antietam National Battlefield Maryland, https://www.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/slavery-and-emancipation-in-sharpsburg.htm accessed March 22, 2021.

Slavery in Maryland. Smithsonian Anacostia Museum, https://anacostia.si.edu/exhibits/Plummer/Docs/Teacher_Resources/Middle_School/msslaveryreading.pdf accessed June 25, 2021.

"Slaves and Free African Americans, Reports and opinions from the newspapers of Hagerstown, Washington County, and Cumberland, Allegany County, Maryland, 1790 to 1864." Western Maryland's Historical Library, http://www.whilbr.org/WesternMDSlaves/index.aspx accessed September 27, 2019.

Smith, C.S. *A History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church: Being a Volume Supplemental to A History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, by Daniel Alexander Payne, D.D., LL.D., Late One of Its Bishops: Chronicling the Principal Events in the Advance of the African Methodist Episcopal Church from 1856 to 1922*. Philadelphia: Book Concern of the AME Church, 1922. DocSouth. https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/cssmith/smith.html.

Smith, Robyn N. "The Prather Family of Montgomery County, Maryland: Freedom's Journey, Part I." *Maryland Genealogical Society Journal* 58 (2017): 427–458, https://www.reclaimingkin.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Prather-Family_MGS2018.pdf accessed September 28, 2020.

Solomon Brown: First African American Employee at the Smithsonian Institution. Stories from the Smithsonian, https://siarchives.si.edu/history/featured-topics/stories/solomon-brown-first-African American-employee-smithsonian-institution accessed September 17, 2019.

Solomon G. Brown Residence Site. African American Heritage Trail, Cultural Tourism DC, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/web/portal%20/solomon-g.-brown-residence-site-African American-heritage-trail accessed September 17, 2019.

Some Black History in Arlington County: A Preliminary Investigation, http://arlingtonhistoricalsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/BlackHistArl-001.pdf accessed July 10, 2019.

"Special Dispatch," *Evening Star*. July 31, 1902, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1902-07-31/ed-1/seq-2/#date1=1902&index=3&rows=20&words=Charles+Craven&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1903&proxtext=charles+craven&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1 accessed September 15, 2020.

SPECIAL NOTICE, "Bishop Wayman's Appointments." *Christian Recorder*, September 30, 1865.

"Speedy Justice." *The Times*, New Bloomfield, Pa, September 10, 1878, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn90069164/1878-09-10/ed-1/seq-4/#date1=1878&index=0&rows=20&words=Green+lynched+Michael&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=&date2=1879&proxtext=%22Michael+Green%22+lynch&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1 accessed September 15, 2020.

St. Mark's United Methodist Church. Inventory Form and State Historic Sites Survey, M: 18-11-13, Maryland Historical Trust, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Montgomery/M;%2018-11-13.pdf accessed September 28, 2020.

"St. Mark's United Methodist Church of Laurel MD." http://stmarkslmd.org/our-history/ accessed October 7, 2020.

Stanley, Phil. *Burkittsville: A Peek at Yesterday*. Burkittsville Historical Society, 2009.

Star Lodge #1. https://www.starlodge1.com/history.shtml accessed July 28, 2020.

State Convention of the Colored People of Maryland, Baltimore, January 1866. Colored Conventions Project, https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/564 accessed March 22, 2021.

"State of Maryland: Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George's County." The Baltimore Sun, October 22, 1894, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013742/images/sun22oct1894.pdf accessed September 3, 2020.

State of the Union, Andrew Johnson, December 3, 1867. http://stateoftheunion.onetwothree.net/texts/18671203.html accessed July 25, 2019.

Statutes at Large, 39th Congress, 1st Session, p. 589, Chapter 121 – An Act for the Relief of Maria Syphax, June 12, 1866.

Stealey III, John Edmund. "Freedmen's Bureau." e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia. 31 July 2012. https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/2068 accessed September 21, 2019.

Sterling, Dorothy ed., *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984.

Stolp-Smith, Michael. Freedmen's Hospital/Howard University Hospital (1862-). BlackPast, https://www.blackpast.org/African American-history/freedmen-s-hospital-howard-university-hospital-1862/ accessed January 8, 2020.

Storer College. Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, https://www.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/storer-college.htm accessed July 27, 2020.

"Street Name Change." *Daily Mail*, March 11, 1975.

Sullivan, Patricia. "In a Summer of Racial Protests, Alexandria Remembers a Young Lynching Victim." *The Washington Post*, August 8, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-news/alexandria-lynching/2020/08/07/45eead66-d8bb-11ea-930e-d88518c57dcc_story.html accessed August 8, 2020.

Syphax, Emma and Sarah Wilson. Personal Statement (6 Dec. 1929). Vertical File, Arlington House Library, Arlington, VA. https://arlingtonblackheritage.org/life-of-gray-family/ accessed February 15, 2019.

Syphax, Evelyn Reid. "William Syphax-Community Leader." Arlington Historical Society, http://arlingtonhistoricalsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/1977-5-William.pdf accessed June 13, 2019.

Taylor, Alrutheus A. *The Negro in Reconstruction in Virginia*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1926.

Taylor, Evelyn M. E. "In Harm's Way: African Americans in Jefferson County, Virginia, 1859." In *John Brown Mysteries: Allies for Freedom, Hannah N. Geffert, Evelyn M. E. Taylor and Jean Libby*, Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1999.

Taylor, James L. *A History of Black Education in Jefferson County, West Virginia 1865-1966*. National Conservation Training Center, 2003.

Teachers Monthly Report of American Union School. Tolson's Chapel, Sharpsburg, https://tolsonschapel.org/history/context/15-april-1868-teacher-report-for-american-union-school/ accessed March 22, 2020.

"Telegraphic Summary." *The Baltimore Sun*, July 28, 1880. Cited in "John Diggs (d. 1880)." (Biographical Series), Archives of Maryland.

"Ten Men Must Answer for Lynching Craven." The Times, Richmond, Virginia, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/data/batches/vi_berea_ver01/data/sn85034438/00175045703/1902080601/0361.pdf accessed August 12, 2020.

"Terrell, Mary Church. A Colored Woman in a White World." Washington, D.C.: Ransdell, 1940; reprinted and revised, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs Inc., 1968.

Terrell, Mary Church. "History of the High School for Negroes in Washington." *The Journal of Negro History*, July 1917, Vol. 2, No. 3 (July 1917), pp. 252-266, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2713767.pdf accessed March 8, 2021.

"Terrible Outrage—A Maryland Lady Brutally Assaulted—Search for the Assailant. Etc." *The Sun*, Baltimore, (Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun), July 26, 1880, https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/7-26-1880_Terrible_Outrage-A_Maryland_L.pdf accessed September 6, 2020.

Terry, David Taft. "A Brief Moment in the Sun: The Aftermath of Emancipation in Washington, D. C., 1862-1869." In Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, ed. *First Freed: Washington, D.C., in the Emancipation Era*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 2002.

Thaddeus Stevens School, National Register of Historical Places Registration Form, Nov. 30, 2001, http://www.historicwashington.org/docs/Historic%20Landmark%20Application/Thaddeus%20Stevens%20School.pdf accessed July 27, 2020.

Thaddeus Stevens Speech on Reconstruction, January 3, 1867. 39th Session, U. S. Congress, *Congressional Globe*, https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage accessed February 20, 2021.

"The African American Story at Arlington House: The Gray Family." Vertical File, Arlington House Library, Arlington, VA. https://arlingtonblackheritage.org/life-of-gray-family/ accessed February 15, 2019.

The Black Heritage Museum of Arlington, Virginia. Life of Gray Family, https://arlingtonblackheritage.org/life-of-gray-family/

"The Civil War." History of Alexandria's African American Community, City of Alexandria, Virginia, https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/blackhistory/default.aspx?id=37214 accessed January 27, 2021.

The Civil War: The Senate's Story, DC Compensated Emancipation Act. United States Senate, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/civil_war/DCEmancipationAct_FeaturedDoc.htm#:~:text=On%20April%2016%2C%201862%2C%20the,to%20%24300%20for%20each%20freeperson accessed December 26, 2020.

"The Color Question." *The Hagerstown Mail*, Hagerstown, MD, March 29, 1889.

The Constitution of West Virginia, Ratified 1872. National Liberty Alliance, p. 141, https://www.nationallibertyalliance.org/files/constitutions/West%20Virginia%20Constitution.pdf accessed March 27, 2020.

The Elevator, June 11, 1869.

The Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871. United States Senate, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/EnforcementActs.htm accessed January 24, 2020.

The Evening Star, Washington, D.C., May 14, 1896 and May 16, 1883.

"The Fifteenth Amendment in Flesh and Blood: The Symbolic Generation of Black Americans in Congress, 1870–1887." United States House of Representatives - https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Essays/Fifteenth-Amendment/Introduction/ accessed July 25, 2019.

The Fifteenth Amendment, National Constitution Center, https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/amendment/amendment-xv accessed September 23, 2019.

"The First African American High School in Frederick." *Frederick News-Post*, September 23, 2019.

"The First African American to Speak in the House Chamber, February 12, 1865." History, Art and Archives, The United States House of Representatives, https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1851-1900/The-first-African American-to-speak-in-the-House-Chamber/ accessed September 27, 2020.

"The Fort" Heritage Trail: An Enduring African American Community. The City of Alexandria, Office of Historic Alexandria, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/FortHeritageTrailBrochure.pdf accessed July 10, 2019.

"The Frederick Lynching." *The Sun*, Baltimore, MD, November 24, 1880, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=54&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=lynching%20frederick%20&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-117107F3E19D2DC8%402410600-117107F4A600B2E0%405-117107F6CE715788%40The%2BFrederick%2BLynching&firsthit=yes accessed September 23, 2020.

The Freeman, Indianapolis, Indiana, November 23, 1895, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&t=pubname%3A12B28495A8DAB1C8%21Freeman&sort=YMD_date%3AA&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=Lynching%20maryland&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A12B28495A8DAB1C8%40EANX-12C5FBED9FFFA680%402413521-12C5FBEDC8C339A0%403-12C5FBEE5CCDC780%40%255BMaryland%255D&firsthit=yes accessed September 13, 2020.

The Grove Community - Laurel, MD. Civil Rights Memorials on Waymarking.com, https://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMZWV7_The_Grove_Community_Laurel_MD accessed October 10, 2020.

"The Hidden History Inside Washington, D. C.'s Blagden Alley." National Trust for Historic Preservation https://savingplaces.org/stories/the-hidden-history-inside-washington-dc-blagden-alley accessed September 3, 2019.

"The History of Bethlehem Baptist Church." 156th Anniversary, Bethlehem Baptist Church, https://www.bethlehemofalexandria.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/4th-Sunday-October-27-2019-Church-Anniversary-Bulletin-PERM.pdf accessed October 27, 2020.

The History of Loudoun County, VA. https://www.loudounhistory.org/African American-communities/ accessed November 27, 2020.

"THE LAST OF THE LYNCHING: A Convenient Verdict Rendered Over Carroll's Body." *The Washington Post*, April 19, 1879.

"The Leesburg Inquest." *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., August 4, 1902, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=19&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-14168094763FCD58%402415966-14166E82D40FE8F8%403-14166E82D40FE8F8%40&firsthit=yes accessed August 24, 2020.

"The Lessons of the Hour" Speech by Frederick Douglass, January 9, 1894. Teaching with Primary Sources, State Historical Society of Iowa, https://iowaculture.gov/sites/default/files/history-education-pss-areconstruction-douglass-transcription.pdf accessed September 25, 2020.

"The Local Scene." *Maryland Cracker Barrell*, January 1990, http://archives.dolemanblackheritagemuseum.org/documents/Fort-Frederick-Research-Files.pdf accessed July 18, 2020.

"The Lynching at Alexandria." Richmond Planet, May 1, 1897, https://blackvirginia.richmond.edu/items/show/1158 accessed July 25, 2019.

"The Lynching Case." *The Daily News*, November 25, 1887.

"The Lynching of Benjamin Thomas, August 8, 1899." Alexandria Community Remembrance Project, Report by the Alexandria Community Remembrance Project Research Committee, July 2020, https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/blackhistory/BenjaminThomasHistoricalNarrative.pdf accessed August 8, 2020.

"The Marlboro' Lynching." *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., December 4, 1889.

"The Marlboro' Lynching Disapproved." *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., December 9, 1889, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13EA4F08FB0A3A30%402411346-13EA3CD6F9395678%407-13EA3CD6F9395678%40&firsthit=yes August 24, 2020.

"The Montgomery County Outrage Case." The Sun, July 27, 1880 (Special Dispatch to the *Baltimore Sun*), https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013900/013949/images/the_montgomery_county_outrage_case_sun27jul1880.pdf accessed September 10, 2020

"The Negro Point of View." *The Washington Times*, November 03, 1901, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87062245/1901-11-03/ed-1/seq-13/#date1=1900&sort=relevance&date2=1901&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&index=15&words=Booker+time+Washington&proxdistance=5&state=&rows=20&ortext=Booker+&proxtext=The+Washington+Times&phrasetext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2 accessed March 23, 2021.

The One Hundred and Seventy-Fourth Anniversary of Asbury United Methodist Church. http://archives.dolemanblackheritagemuseum.org/documents/Asbury-United-Methodist-Church-Information.pdf accessed November 16, 2020.

"The Point of Rocks Lynching." The Sun, Baltimore, MD, April 19, 1879, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22James%20Carroll%22%20lynching&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-1171124A617EF380%402407459-1171124A866665B0%401-1171124B5F2046E8%40The%2BPoint%2Bof%2BRocks%2BLynching.%2BParticulars%2Bof%2Bthe%2BSummary%2BExecution%2B-%2BScene%2Bof%2Bthe%2BTragedy%2B-%2BRemoval&firsthit=yes accessed September 23, 2020.

"The Point of Rocks Lynching. The Body Vied by the Jury of Inquest." *The Sun*, Baltimore, MD, April 21, 1879, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22James%20Carroll%22%20lynching&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-11711285C5E76210%402407461-1171128620D10BF8%403-11711287035F9238%40The%2BPoint%2Bof%2BRocks%2BLynching.%2BThe%2BBody%2BVied%2Bby%2Bthe%2BJury%2Bof%2BInquest%2B-%2BPreparations%2Bfor&firsthit=yes accessed September 23, 2020.

"The Point of Rocks Lynching. Verdict of the Coroner's Jury." *The Evening Star,* Washington, D. C., April 21, 1879, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&fld-base-0=alltext&val-base-0=%22James%20Carroll%22%20lynching&val-database-0=&fld-database-0=database&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=&docref=image/v2%3A13D5DA85AE05A305%40EANX-13DCD68B8AB178F8%402407461-13DCBBC2F292BF30%400-13DCBBC2F292BF30%40&firsthit=yes accessed September 23, 2020

"The Prince George's County Lynching." *The Sun*, Baltimore, MD, December 4, 1889, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&page=5&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A11343008E4D07040%40EANX-117108787307C438%402411341-11710878CEA3B228%403-1171087A2C7A7D68%40The%2BPrince%2BGeorge%2527s%2BCounty%2BLynching&firsthit=yes.

"The Restored Government of Virginia: History of the New State of Things." *New York Times*, Jun 26, 1864.

The Ridgely Family in Prince George's. https://www.mncppc.org/DocumentCenter/View/438/The-Ridgley-Family-PDF accessed September 16, 2019.

"The School Fund." *The Herald and Torch Light*, Hagerstown, MD, October 9, 1878.

"The School Question." *The Herald and Torch Light*, Hagerstown, January 28, 1874.

The Settlement. DHA Preliminary Information Form (PIF) for Historic Districts, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, https://eservice.pwcgov.org/planning/documents/archaeology/the_settlement/Preliminary%20Information%20Form%20-%20The%20Settlement.pdf accessed June 21, 2021.

"The Story of George Peck (c. 1858-1880)." Montgomery History, https://montgomeryhistory.org/lynchings-in-montgomery-county/lynchings-george-peck/ accessed September 6, 2020.

"The Story of John Diggs-Dorsey (b 1856-1860; d. 1880)." Montgomery History, https://montgomeryhistory.org/lynchings-in-montgomery-county/lynchings-john-diggs-dorsey/ accessed September 6, 2020.

"They Hanged Him." *Richmond Dispatch*, November 9, 1889, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/_They_Hanged_Him_Richmond_Dispatch_November_9_1889 accessed August 12, 2020.

"Thomas Juricks." Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), MSA SC 352—18090, Maryland State Archives, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/html/18090bio.html accessed August 27, 2020.

Thomas-Lester, Avis. "A History Scarred by Lynchings." *Washington Post*, July 7, 2005, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/409856187/99DAC54872FE4881PQ/11?accountid=14696 accessed July 24, 2019.

Thomas Matthews House. Maryland Historical Trust Maryland Inventory of Historical Properties Form, http://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/Documentations/62-023-17/PG%2062-023-17%20Thomas%20Matthews%20House%20MIHP.pdf accessed November 11, 2020.

Timeline, Bowie State University. https://bowiestate.edu/about/history/timeline.php.

"Timeline of Important Events in African American History in Loudoun County, Virginia." The History of Loudoun County, Virginia, http://www.loudounhistory.org/history/African American-chronology/ accessed July 14, 2019.

Titus, C. O. Atlas of Frederick County, Maryland. Johns Hopkins Sheridan Libraries, Urbana, District, https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/34119 accessed July 26, 2020.

"TO AVENGE A LYNCHING.: Hundreds of Negroes Crying Out for a Sheriff's Blood." The Boston Daily Globe, Nov 29, 1887, https://search-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/docview/493479283/7ED845DC89F40D9PQ/1?accountid=14696, accessed September 13, 2020.

"TO DENOUNCE MARYLAND LYNCHERS: Colored People of Washington to Take Action at a Meeting This Eve." *The Washington Post*, July 16, 1896, https://search.proquest.com/hnpwashingtonpost/docview/143713533/447866E782E94E23PQ/21?accountid=14696 accessed July 24, 2019.

Tolson's Chapel. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, NPS, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-1466.pdf.

Town of Upper Marlboro Residential Area. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, NPS, https://npgallery.gov/GetAsset/b6a1a225-2486-4d8e-af00-f36b36d63bdb accessed November 30, 2020.

Trefousse, Hans L. *Andrew Johnson: A Biography*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989.

Trotter, Joe W. "Memphis Tennessee Garrison and the African American West Virginia Experience." In *Memphis Tennessee Garrison: The Remarkable Story of a Black Appalachian Woman*, ed. Ancells R. Bickley and Lynda Ann Ewen, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001.

Trotter Jr., Joe William "African American Heritage." e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org.

Truth, Sojourner. Narrative of Sojourner Truth. Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/lhbum.25244/?sp=3&st=gallery accessed September 26, 2019.

Turè, Kalfani Nyerere. "Fighting for the Farms: Structural Violence, Race and Resistance in Washington, D.C." Doctoral Diss. American University, https://dra.american.edu/islandora/object/auislandora%3A68576/datastream/PDF/view accessed June 26, 2021.

Turkel, Stanley. *Heroes of the American Reconstruction: Profile of Sixteen Educators, Politicians and Activists*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2005.

Union Bethel AME Church Site. Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form, http://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunities-Survey/Documentations/85A-018/85A-018.pdf accessed December 1, 2020.

United States, Bureau of Education. Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools: in the District of Columbia: submitted to Senate June 1868, and to the House with addition, June 13, 1870. Washington, DC: [publisher not identified], 1871. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951000947607p&view=1up&seq=297

United States, Federal Population Census, 1870.

United States, Federal Population Census, 1900, Maryland, Prince George's County, Piscataway, District 95, sheet 5A-5B; Chapel Hill, http://www.mncp-pcapps.org/planning/HistoricCommunitiesSurvey/CommunityDocumentations/80-018%20Chapel%20Hill/PG%2080-018%20Chapel%20Hill%20Community%20Survey.pdf

United States Colored Troops (USCT) Case Studies, Maryland State Archives, http://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/casestudies/usct.html accessed January 27, 2021.

"Unlikely Friends: Julia Wilbur and Harriet Jacobs in Civil War Alexandria." National Women's History Museum, May 25, 2016, Virginia, https://www.womenshistory.org/articles/unlikely-friends accessed March 14, 2021.

"Urbana High School Student to Present Research on African American Schools in County." *Frederick News-Post*, C-1,2, April 28, 2010.

U. S. C. T. From Washington County, Maryland. WHILBR, https://digital.whilbr.org/digital/collection/p16715coll37/id/578/rec/1

Vaughn, Clara H. "Historical Society Offers Glimpse of African Americans during Reconstruction." *Baltimore Sun* March 12, 2012. https://www.baltimoresun.com/ph-ll-lhs-freedom-0315-20120312-story.html accessed July 2, 2019.

"Verdict on Bowens' Lynching." *Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., November 21, 1895.

Virginia Department of Historic Resources, https://www.facebook.com/VADHR/posts/under-consideration-for-listing-on-the-state-and-federal-registers-at-the-dhr-qu/1820972798040669/ accessed March 20, 2021.

Virginia Revised Code of 1819, Chapter 198, Section 32. The Code of Virginia: With the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States; and the Declaration of Rights and Constitution of Virginia. Richmond. William F. Ritchie, 1849.

Virta, Alan. Prince George's County: Over 300 Years of History. Prince George's County Historical Society, https://www.pghistory.org/PG/PG300/history.html accessed September 22, 2019.

Visit Hagerstown and Washington County, Maryland. http://www.visithagerstown.com/things-to-do/recreation/African American-heritage accessed November 25, 2020.

"Visit of the Colored Delegation to the President." *Mirror*, February 14, 1866. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/559ec31fe4b0550458945194/t/563e36bde4b057fc122e54e5/1446917821217/Douglass+to+White+House.pdf accessed July 25, 2019.

Vorenberg, Michael. Citizenship and the Thirteenth Amendment: UNDERSTANDING THE DEAFENING SILENCE 58-77. In *The Promises of Liberty: The History and Contemporary Relevance of the Thirteenth Amendment*, Alexander Tsesis, ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Wada, Kayomi. "National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (1896)." Dec. 29, 2008, https://www.blackpast.org/African American-history/national-association-colored-women-s-clubs-inc-1896/ accessed March 6, 2021.

Wagandt, Charles Lewis. *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862-1864*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004.

Wallace, Edie. "Reclaiming the Forgotten History and Cultural Landscapes of African Americans in Rural Washington County, Maryland." *Material Culture* 39, no. 1 (2007): 9-32, http://www.jstor.org/stable/29764375 accessed November 17, 2020.

"Wallace's Body Hangs for Eighteen Hours." *The Evening Star*, February 19, 1880.

Washington, Booker T. *Frederick Douglass*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.Doc South https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/doug1906/menu.html.

Washington County African American Heritage Guide. WHILBR, http://www.whilbr.org/itemdetail.aspx?idEntry=3338 accessed September 19, 2019.

Washington Times, Washington, D. C., August 9, 1899.

Washington Times, Washington. D. C., August 29, 1899.

Wayman, Alexander W. Cyclopædia of African Methodism. Baltimore: Methodist Episcopal Book Depository, 1882, https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/waymancyc/wayman.html accessed July 30, 2020.

"We Built Our Own Place: Oakland Baptist Church." Zebra, Good News in Alexandria, VA, https://thezebra.org/2020/02/09/we-built-our-own-place-oakland-baptist-church/#:~:text=Alexandria%2C%20VA%20%E2%80%93%20Back%20in%20the,two%20counties%2C%20Fairfax%20and%20Arlington, accessed October 19, 2020.

Weatherly, Yetive Rockefeller. Lovettsville: The German Settlement. Lovettsville, VA: The Lovettsville Bicentennial Committee, 1976. https://www.loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/6978/Loudoun-County-African American-Architectural-Res?bidId= accessed September 15, 2019.

Weaver, Valeria W. "The Failure of Civil Rights 1875-1883 and Its Repercussions." *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 54, no. 4, 1969, pp. 368–382. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2716730 accessed 4 Feb. 2020.

Webb-Blessing House Restoration Project. http://www.jcblackhistory.org/the-webb-blessing-house-restoration-project accessed March 6, 2021.

West Virginia State Archives. "A Brief History of African Americans in West Virginia." http://www.wvculture.org/history/archives/Blacks/blachist.html accessed September 17, 2019.

"'White Cap' Crimes. They Lead to a Lynching in Maryland. . ." *The Salt Lake Weekly Tribune*, Salt Lake City, Utah, December 5, 1889, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&sort=YMD_date%3AA&f=advanced&val-base-0=lynching&fld-base-0=ocrtext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=marlboro&fld-base-1=ocrtext&docref=image/v2%3A11A2464BB96AE5F8%40EANX-11A7862C6DA2C128%402411342-11A6EBF724BE2890%400-1212511CD4F7B384%40%2522White%2BCap%2522%2BCrimes.%2BThey%2BLead%2Bto%2Ba%2BLynching%2Bin%2BMaryland.%2BThieving%2BTrainmen%2BIn%2BOhio&firsthit=yes accessed August 24, 2020.

Whyte, James Huntington. *The Uncivil War: Washington During the Reconstruction, 1865-1878*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1958.

"William Holmes - Company A, 5th Massachusetts Cavalry Veteran." From Slaves to Soldiers and Beyond - Williamson County, Tennessee's African American History. April 29, 2017, https://usctwillcotn.blogspot.com/2017/04/william-holmes-company-5th.html accessed February 28, 2021.

Williams, Charles Richard. *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*. Columbus, 1928.

Williams, Kidada E. "The Wounds that Cried Out: Reckoning with African Americans' Testimonies of Trauma and Suffering from Night Riding." In *The World the Civil War Made*, Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur, eds. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

Winfree, Andrew. "George Lewis Seaton 1822-1881: Master Carpenter-Civic Leader- Property Owner." *Footprints of African Americans in Alexandria*. Trafford International, 2019.

Winkler, E. W. ed. "The Hayes-Bryan Correspondence." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVI* (1922-1923).

Woods, Michael. "Harris, Alfred W. (1853–1920)" *Encyclopedia Virginia. Virginia Humanities*, (12 Feb. 2021), https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Harris_Alfred_W_1853-1920 accessed March 22, 2021.

Woodson, Carter G. "Early Negro Education in West Virginia." *Journal of Negro History, 1922* 7:1, 23-63.

Woodward, C. Vann, *Reunion and Reactions: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction*. Garden City, 1956.

Work, Monroe N., Thomas S. Staples, H. A. Wallace, Kelly Miller, Whitefield McKinlay, Samuel E. Lacy, R. L. Smith and H. R. McIlwaine, "Some Negro Members of Reconstruction Conventions and Legislatures and of Congress." *Journal of Negro History* Vol. 5, No. 1, January 1920, https://doi.org/10.2307/2713503.

Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration of the State of Virginia. *The Negro in Virginia*. Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1994.

WPA, *Maryland A Guide to the Old Line State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1940.

Wright, Jr., Richard R. *Centennial Encyclopaedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. Philadelphia: Book Concern of the A. M. E. Church, 1916, https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/wright/wright.html accessed March 5, 2021.

WV Const. ratified 1872, art. XII, § 8, http://www.wvlegislature.gov/educational/publications/Manual_PDF/13-WV_State_Constitution.pdf accessed January 30, 2021.

Zietlow, Rebecca E. "It's Time for a Third Reconstruction." *The Hill*, https://thehill.com/opinion/civil-rights/503182-its-time-for-a-third-reconstruction accessed September 27, 2020.

APPENDIX A: AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION STATISTICS IN THE NPS NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA, 1860-1900

COMPILED BY CAROLINE SPENCER, NOVEMBER 2020

CATALOG OF COUNTIES

- **NPS National Capital Area**
- **Maryland**
  - Prince George's County
  - Montgomery County
  - Frederick County
  - Washington County
- **District of Columbia**
- **Virginia**
  - Prince William County
  - Loudoun County
  - Fairfax County
  - Alexandria County
  - Alexandria City
- **West Virginia**
  - Jefferson County

NPS NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA[1]

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)
1860	264097	197131	24884	42082	66966	63%	25%	16%
1870	340614	241677	-	-	98914	-	29%	-
1880	412925	288977	-	-	123924	-	30%	-
1890	471177	334829	-	-	136209	-	29%	-
1900	529653	387220	-	-	141924	-	27%	-

MARYLAND

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY (CITIES AND TOWNS INCLUDED)

Decade	City/Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	-	23327	9650	1198	12479	13677	91%	59%	54%	U.S. Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Maryland, "Table No. 2 Population by Color and Condition", p. 214; "Table No.1-Population by Age, p. 211, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-18.pdf.
1870	-	21138	11358	-	-	9780	-	46%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, "Population by Counties-1790-1870, Table II-State of Maryland", p. 36, https://www2.census.gov/library/oublications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-07.pdf.
1870	Vansville	2273	1494	-	-	779	-	34%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United Stated, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota (County: Anoka), "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Maryland", p.164, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-18.pdf.
1870	Bladensburg	3006	1795	-	-	1211	-	40%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Bladensburg (City Only	410	297	-	-	113	-	28%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Marlborough	3239	1213	-	-	2026	-	63%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Marlborough (City Only)	492	255	-	-	237	-	48%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Nottingham	2476	1084	-	-	1392	-	56%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Piscataway	1999	1132	-	-	867	-	43%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Spaulding	1687	1229	-	-	458	-	27%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Queen Anne	2276	819	-	-	1457	-	64%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Aquasco	1723	746	-	-	977	-	57%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Surratt	775	484	-	-	291	-	38%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Laurel	1684	1362	-	-	322	-	19%	-	Ibid, 164.

[1] For the purposes of this study the NPS National Capital Area includes the counties of Prince George's, Montgomery, Frederick, and Washington in Maryland; the counties of Fairfax, Loudoun, Prince William, and Alexandria in Virginia [Arlington did not become a county until 1920], and the city of Alexandria [Alexandria became an independent city in 1870]; the District of Columbia, and the county of Jefferson in West Virginia.

Decade	City/Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1870	Laurel (City Only)	1148	1066	-	-	82	-	7%	-	Ibid, 164.
1880	-	26451	13965	-	-	12486	-	47%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V.- Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Maryland", p.395, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.
1890	-	26080	14867	-	-	11210	-	43%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9-19, "Table 15.-Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890", Maryland, p. 415, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.
1900	-	29898	17910	-	-	11985	-	40%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9-22, "Table 19.-White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880-1900, Maryland", p. 542, https://ww2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY (CITIES AND TOWNS INCLUDED)

Decade	City/Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	-	18322	11349	1552	5421	6973	78%	38%	30%	U.S. Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Maryland, "Table No. 2 Population by Color and Condition", p. 214; "Table No.1-Population by Age, p. 211, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-18.pdf.
1870	-	20563	13128	-	-	7434	-	36%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, "Population by Counties-1790-1870, Table II-State of Maryland", p. 36, https://www2.census.gov/library/oublications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-07.pdf.
1870	Cracklin's	3477	1911	-	-	1566	-	45%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United Stated, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota (County: Anoka), "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Maryland", p.164, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-18.pdf.
1870	Clarksburg	3064	2457	-	-	607	-	20%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Medley's	3885	2304	-	-	1580	-	41%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Rockville	5437	3706	-	-	1731	-	32%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Rockville (City Only)	660	429	-	-	231	-	35%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Berry's	4700	2750	-	-	1950	-	41%	-	Ibid, 164.
1880	-	24758	15608	-	-	9150	-	37%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V.- Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Maryland", p.395, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.

Decade	City/Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1890	-	27185	17500	-	-	9685	-	36%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9-19, "Table 15.-Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890", Maryland, p. 415, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.
1900	-	30451	20393	-	-	10054	-	33%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9-22, "Table 19.-White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880-1900, Maryland", p. 542, https://ww2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

FREDERICK COUNTY (CITIES AND TOWNS INCLUDED)

Decade	City/Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	-	46591	38391	4957	3243	8200	40%	18%	7%	U.S. Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Maryland, "Table No. 2 Population by Color and Condition", p. 214; "Table No.1-Population by Age, p. 211, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-18.pdf.
1860	Frederick (City Only)	8142	6390	1310	442	1752	25%	22%	5%	Ibid, 214.
1870	-	47572	39999	-	-	7572	-	16%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, "Population by Counties-1790-1870, Table II-State of Maryland", p. 36, https://www2.census.gov/library/oublications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-07.pdf.
1870	Buckeystown	2414	1711	-	-	703	-	29%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United Stated, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota (County: Anoka), "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Maryland", p.163, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-18.pdf.
1870	Frederick (City Only)	3378	2906	-	-	472	-	14%	-	Ibid, 163.
1870	Frederick (1st Ward)	1187	871	-	-	316	-	27%	-	Ibid, 163.
1870	Frederick (2nd Ward)	1431	965	-	-	466	-	33%	-	Ibid, 163.
1870	Frederick (3rd Ward)	1065	981	-	-	83	-	8%	-	Ibid, 163.
1870	Frederick (4th Ward)	619	555	-	-	64	-	10%	-	Ibid, 163.
1870	Frederick (5th Ward)	1352	1111	-	-	241	-	18%	-	Ibid, 163.
1870	Frederick (6th Ward)	1379	1089	-	-	290	-	21%	-	Ibid, 163.
1870	Frederick (7th Ward)	1493	1131	-	-	362	-	24%	-	Ibid, 163.

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1870	Middletown	2874	2633	-	-	241	-	8%	-	Ibid, 163.
1870	Middletown (City Only)	746	659	-	-	87	-	12%	-	Ibid, 163.
1870	Creagerstown	2006	1924	-	-	82	-	4%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Emmettsburg	3168	3030	-	-	138	-	4%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Emmettsburg (City Only)	706	675	-	-	31	-	4%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Catoctin	1326	1308	-	-	18	-	1%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Urbana	2359	1636	-	-	723	-	31%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Liberty	3281	2586	-	-	695	-	21%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	New Market	3476	2636	-	-	840	-	24%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Hauvers	1389	1367	-	-	22	-	2%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Woodsboro	2064	1950	-	-	114	-	6%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Petersville	2574	1781	-	-	793	-	31%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Petersville (City Only)	159	87	-	-	72	-	45%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Berlin (w/in Petersville)	208	163	-	-	45	-	22%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Burkittsville (w/in Petersville)	293	272	-	-	21	-	7%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Knoxville (w/in Petersville)	320	254	-	-	66	-	21%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Mount Pleasant	1565	1176	-	-	389	-	25%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Jefferson	1491	1224	-	-	267	-	18%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Jefferson (City Only)	257	239	-	-	18	-	7%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Mechanicstown	2340	2276	-	-	64	-	3%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Mechanicstown (City Only)	583	562	-	-	21	-	4%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Jackson	1699	1676	-	-	23	-	1%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Myersville (w/in Jackson)	139	139	-	-	0	-	0%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Johnsville	1642	1476	-	-	166	-	10%	-	Ibid, 164.
1880	-	50482	42962	-	-	7520	-	15%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V.- Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Maryland", p.394, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.
1880	Frederick (City Only)	8659	6779	-	-	1880	-	22%	-	Ibid, 394.
1890	-	49512	42983	-	-	6528	-	13%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9-19, Table 15.-Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population by Counties: 1870 to 1890", Maryland, p. 415; "Table 19.- Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, of Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1890", Maryland, p. 460, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1890	Frederick (City Only)	8193	6616	-	-	1576	-	19%	-	Ibid, 460.
1900	-	51920	45905	-	-	6012	-	12%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9-22, "Table 19.-White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880-1900, Maryland", p. 542, https://ww2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.
1900	Frederick (City Only)	9296	7759	-	-	1535	-	17%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 23-24, "Table 23.- Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, for Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1900, Maryland", p.620, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p11.pdf.

WASHINGTON COUNTY (CITIES AND TOWNS INCLUDED)

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1860	-	31417	28305	1677	1435	3112	46%	10%	5%	U.S. Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Maryland, "Table No. 2 Population by Color and Condition", p. 214; "Table No.1-Population by Age, p. 211, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-18.pdf.
1870	-	34712	31874	-	-	2838	-	8%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, "Population by Counties-1790-1870, Table II-State of Maryland", p. 36, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-07.pdf.
1870	Sharpsburg	2478	2300	-	-	178	-	7%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota (County: Anoka), "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Maryland", p.164, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-18.pdf.
1870	Sharpsburg (City Only)	1001	940	-	-	61	-	6%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Williamsport	3123	2749	-	-	374	-	12%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Williamsport (City Only)	1283	1077	-	-	206	-	16%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Hagerstown	6471	5589	-	-	882	-	14%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Hagerstown (City Only)	5779	4910	-	-	869	-	15%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Antietam ("Exclusive of city of Hagerstown")	854	851	-	-	3	-	Less than 1% (0.4%)	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Ridgeville (w/in Antietam)	N/A	N/A	-	-	N/A	-	N/A	-	Ibid, 164.

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1870	Clear Spring	2763	2425	-	-	338	-	12%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Clear Spring (City Only)	702	559	-	-	143	-	20%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Hancock	2139	1886	-	-	253	-	12%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Hancock (City Only)	860	739	-	-	121	-	14%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Boonsboro	2579	2465	-	-	114	-	4%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Boonsboro (City Only)	835	812	-	-	23	-	3%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Cavetown	1899	1877	-	-	22	-	1%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Cavetown (City Only)	181	181	-	-	0	-	0%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Smithburg (w/in Cavetown)	459	453	-	-	6	-	1%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Pleasant Valley	1183	1140	-	-	43	-	4%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Leitersburg	1673	1658	-	-	15	-	Less than 1% (0.9%)	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Leitersburg (City Only)	335	335	-	-	0	-	0%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Funkstown	1649	1544	-	-	105	-	6%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Funkstown (City Only)	671	628	-	-	43	-	6%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Sandy Hook	1316	1170	-	-	146	-	11%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Tilghmanton	1489	1399	-	-	90	-	6%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Conococheague	1402	1323	-	-	79	-	6%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Ringgold	763	763	-	-	0	-	0%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Indian Spring	1565	1503	-	-	62	-	4%	-	Ibid, 164.
1870	Beaver Creek	1366	1232	-	-	134	-	10%	-	Ibid, 164.
1880	-	38561	35495	-	-	3066	-	8%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V.- Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Maryland", p.395; "Table VI. -Population by Race, of Cities and Towns of 4,000 Inhabitants and Upward: 1880 and 1870, Maryland", p.419, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.
1880	Hagerstown	6627	5681	-	-	946	-	14%	-	Ibid, 419.
1890	-	39782	37274	-	-	2507	-	6%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9-19, "Table 15.- Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890", Maryland, p.415; "Table 19.- Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, of Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1890", Maryland, p.460, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.
1890	Hagerstown	10118	9105	-	-	1012	-	10%	-	Ibid, 460.

Decade	City/Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1900	-	45133	42642	-	-	2488	-	6%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9-22, "Tables 19.-White, Negro, and Indian Population, by Counties: 1880-1900, Maryland", p. 542, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.
1900	Hagerstown	13591	12311	-	-	1277	-	9%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 23-24, "Tables 23.- Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, for Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1900, Maryland", p. 620, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p11.pdf.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Decade	City/Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	Washington County	75080	60764	11131	3185	14316	22%	19%	4%	U.S. Census Bureau, *1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties*, District of Columbia, "Table No. 2-Population by Color and Condition" p. 588; Table No. 1- Population by Age and Sex", p. 587; "Table No. 3-Population of Cities, Towns, &c.- Continued", p. 588, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-45.pdf.
1860	Georgetown (Total)	8733	6798	1358	577	1935	30%	22%	7%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Georgetown (1st Ward)	1908	1601	224	83	307	27%	16%	4%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Georgetown (2nd Ward)	2504	1642	627	235	862	27%	34%	9%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Georgetown (3rd Ward)	1904	1684	128	92	220	42%	12%	5%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Georgetown (4th Ward)	2417	1871	379	167	546	31%	23%	7%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Washington (City)	61122	50139	9209	1774	10983	16%	18%	3%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Washington (1st Ward)	8352	5980	2116	256	2372	11%	28%	3%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Washington (2nd Ward)	9561	7570	1675	316	1991	16%	21%	3%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Washington (3rd Ward)	9702	8399	968	335	1303	26%	13%	3%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Washington (4th Ward)	11903	10068	1455	380	1835	21%	15%	3%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Washington (5th Ward)	6301	4953	1216	132	1348	10%	21%	2%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Washington (6th Ward)	5589	5260	216	113	329	34%	6%	2%	Ibid, 588.
1860	Washington (7th Ward)	9714	7909	1563	242	1805	13%	19%	3%	Ibid, 588.

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1860	Remainder of District	5225	3827	564	834	1398	60%	27%	16%	Ibid, 588.
1870	Washington, D.C.	131700	88278	-	-	43404	-	33%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Populations of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Alabama, Territory of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Territory of Colorado, Connecticut, Territory of Dakota, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, "Population by Counties-1790-1870, Table II-District of Columbia", p.18, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-05.pdf.
1870	Georgetown (City)	11384	8113	-	-	3271	-	29%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, California (Counties: Tehama through Yuba), Connecticut, Territory of Colorado, Territory of Dakota, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Territory of Idaho (Counties: Ada through Idaho), "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-District of Columbia", p.97, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-13.pdf.
1870	Georgetown (City-Wards 1-4)	N/A	N/A	-	-	N/A	-	N/A	-	Ibid, 97.
1870	Washington (City Only)	109199	73731	-	-	35455	-	32%	-	Ibid, 97.
1870	Washington (city-1st Ward)	16652	9294	-	-	7357	-	44%	-	Ibid, 97.
1870	Washington (city-2nd Ward)	18474	11744	-	-	6718	-	36%	-	Ibid, 97.
1870	Washington (city-3rd Ward)	15527	11343	-	-	4184	-	27%	-	Ibid, 97.
1870	Washington (city-4th Ward)	18900	14424	-	-	4476	-	24%	-	Ibid, 97.
1870	Washington (city-5th Ward)	10621	7332	-	-	3289	-	31%	-	Ibid, 97.
1870	Washington (city-6th Ward)	11071	8337	-	-	2734	-	25%	-	Ibid, 97.
1870	Washington (city-7th Ward)	17954	11257	-	-	6697	-	37%	-	Ibid, 97.
1870	Remainder of District (Total)	11117	6434	-	-	4678	-	42%	-	Ibid, 97.
1870	Remainder of District (East of 7th St. turnpike)	7032	3623	-	-	3404	-	48%	-	Ibid, 97.
1870	Remainder of District (West of 7th St. turnpike)	4085	2811	-	-	1274	-	31%	-	Ibid, 97.

Decade	City/Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1880	Washington, D.C.	177624	118006	-	-	59596	-	34%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V.- Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, District of Columbia", p.384; "Table VI. -Population by Race, of Cities and Towns of 4,000 Inhabitants and Upward: 1880 and 1870, District of Columbia", p.417, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.
1880	Washington (City)	147293	98895	-	-	48377	-	33%	-	Ibid, 417.
1880	Georgetown	12578	8819	-	-	3758	-	30%	-	Ibid, 417.
1890	Washington, D.C.	230392	154695	-	-	75572	-	33%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the of the United States, General Tables- Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9-19, "Table 15.- Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890", District of Columbia, p.405, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.
1900	Washington City	278718	191532	-	-	86702	-	31%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9-22, "Table 19.-White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880-1900, District of Columbia", p.532, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume1-p10.pdf.

VIRGINIA

PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY (CITIES AND TOWNS INCLUDED)

Decade	City/Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860		8565	5690	519	2356	2875	82%	34%	28%	U.S. Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Virginia, "Table No. 2-Population by Color and Condition", p.517, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-36.pdf.
1870		7504	5691	-	-	1813	-	24%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Territory of Utah, Vermont, Virginia, "Population by Counties-1790-1870, Table II-Virginia", p.69, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-10.pdf.
1870	Brentsville	937	694	-	-	243	-	26%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Vermont, Virginia, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Virginia", p.282, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-27.pdf.
1870	Cole's	1279	1138	-	-	141	-	11%	-	Ibid, 282.
1870	Dumfries	844	678	-	-	166	-	20%	-	Ibid, 282.

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1870	Dumfries (City Only)	167	155	-	-	12	-	7%	-	Ibid, 282.
1870	Gainesville	1908	1294	-	-	614	-	32%	-	Ibid, 282.
1870	Manassas	1645	1089	-	-	556	-	34%	-	Ibid, 282.
1870	Occoquan	891	798	-	-	93	-	10%	-	Ibid, 282.
1870	Occoquan (City Only)	228	199	-	-	29	-	13%	-	Ibid, 282.
1880	-	9180	6580	-	-	2600	-	28%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V.- Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Virginia", p. 413, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.
1890	-	9805	7210	-	-	2595	-	26%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables- Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9-19, "Table 15.- Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890", Virginia, p. 434, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.
1900	-	11112	8240	-	-	2871	-	26%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9-22, "Table 19.-White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880-1900, Virginia", p. 562, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

LOUDOUN COUNTY (CITIES AND TOWNS INCLUDED)

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1860	-	21774	15021	1252	5501	6753	81%	31%	25%	U.S. Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Virginia, "Table No. No. 2.- Population by Color and Condition", p. 517; "Table No. 3.- Population of Cities, Towns, &c.", p. 519, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-36.pdf.
1860	Leesburg	1130	1083	47	0	47	0%	4%	0%	Ibid, 519.
1860	Waterford	429	349	83	0	83	0%	19%	0%	Ibid, 520.
1870	-	20929	15238	-	-	5691	-	27%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Territory of Utah, Vermont, Virginia, "Population by Counties-1790-1870, Table II- Virginia", p. 68, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-10.pdf.
1870	Broad Run	2582	1925	-	-	657	-	25%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of the Aggregate Population, With Race, Vermont, Virginia, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Virginia", p. 281, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-27.pdf.

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1870	Jefferson	3355	2534	-	-	821	-	24%	-	Ibid, 281.
1870	Hillsboro (w/in Jefferson)	246	186	-	-	60	-	24%	-	Ibid, 281.
1870	Waterford (w/ in Jefferson)	419	321	-	-	98	-	23%	-	Ibid, 281.
1870	Leesburg	4075	2857	-	-	1218	-	30%	-	Ibid, 281.
1870	Leesburg (City Only)	1144	791	-	-	353	-	31%	-	Ibid, 281.
1870	Lovettsville	3020	2756	-	-	264	-	9%	-	Ibid, 281.
1870	Lovettsville (City Only)	155	139	-	-	16	-	10%	-	Ibid, 281.
1870	Mercer	4360	2727	-	-	1633	-	37%	-	Ibid, 281.
1870	Mount Gilead	3537	2439	-	-	1098	-	31%	-	Ibid, 281.
1880	-	23634	16391	-	-	7243	-	31%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V.- Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Virginia", p. 412, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.
1890	-	23274	16696	-	-	6578	-	28%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9-19, "Table 15.-Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890", Virginia, p. 434, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.
1900	-	21948	16079	-	-	5868	-	27%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9-22, "Table 19.-White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880-1900, Virginia", p. 561, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

FAIRFAX COUNTY (CITIES AND TOWNS INCLUDED)

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1860	-	11834	8046	672	3116	3788	82%	32%	26%	U.S. Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Virginia, "Table No.2- Population by Color and Condition", p.516, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-36.pdf.
1870	-	12952	8667	-	-	4284	-	33%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Territory of Utah, Vermont, Virginia, "Population by Counties-1790-1870, Table II- Virginia", p.68, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-10/pdf.

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
	Centreville	1721	1137	-	-	584	-	34%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Vermont, Virginia, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Virginia", p.280, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-27.pdf.
	Dranesville	2055	1579	-	-	476	-	23%	-	Ibid, 280.
	Falls Church	2461	1566	-	-	894	-	36%	-	Ibid, 280.
	Lee	1346	1040	-	-	306	-	23%	-	Ibid, 280.
	Mount Vernon	2233	1266	-	-	967	-	43%	-	Ibid, 280.
	Providence	3136	2079	-	-	1057	-	34%	-	Ibid, 280.
1880	-	16025	10761	-	-	5264	-	33%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V.- Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Virginia", p.412, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.
1890	-	16655	11580	-	-	5069	-	30%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9-19, "Table 15.-Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890", Virginia, p. 433, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.
1900	-	18580	13576	-	-	5003	-	27%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9-22, "Table 19.-White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880-1900, Virginia", p. 561, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

ALEXANDRIA COUNTY (CITIES AND TOWNS INCLUDED)

DECADE	CITY/ TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1860		12652	9851	1415	1386	2801	49%	22%	11%	U.S. Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Virginia, "Table No. 2.-Population by Color and Condition", p. 516, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-36.pdf.
1870		16755	9444	-	-	7310	-	44%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Territory of Utah, Vermont, Virginia, "Population by Counties-1790-1870, Table II- Virginia", p. 68-69, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-10.pdf.
Arlington		1374	517	-	-	857	-	62%	-	Ibid, 279.
Jefferson		1256	383	-	-	873	-	70%	-	Ibid, 279.
Washington		555	275	-	-	280	-	51%	-	Ibid, 279.

Decade	City/ Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1880		17546	9972	-	-	7574	-	43%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V.- Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Virginia", p. 412, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.
1890		18597	11361	-	-	7236	-	39%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9-19, "Table 15.- Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890", Virginia, p. 433; "Table 19.- Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, of Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1890", Virginia, p. 483, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.
1900		11430	8963	-	-	2467	-	22%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9-22, "Table 19.-White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880-1900, Virginia", p. 561, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

CITY OF ALEXANDRIA[2]

Decade	City/Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1870	-	13570	8269	-	-	5300	-	39%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Vermont, Virginia, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Virginia", p. 278, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-27.pdf.
1870	Alexandria (1st Ward)	3169	2183	-	-	986	-	31%	-	Ibid, 278.
1870	Alexandria (2nd Ward)	1932	1228	-	-	704	-	36%	-	Ibid, 278.
1870	Alexandria (3rd Ward)	4655	2931	-	-	1724	-	37%	-	Ibid, 278.
1870	Alexandria (4th Ward)	3814	1927	-	-	1886	-	49%	-	Ibid, 278.
1880	-	13659	8279	-	-	5380	-	39%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of The United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table VI. - Population, by Race, of Cities and Towns of 4,000 Inhabitants and Upward: 1880 and 1870, Virginia", p. 425, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.

[2] The city of Alexandria became an independent city [no longer a part of Alexandria county] in 1870.

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1890		14339	9226	-	-	5113	-	36%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9-19, "Table 15.- Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890", Virginia, p. 433; "Table 19.- Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, of Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1890", Virginia, p. 483, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.
1900		14528	9986	-	-	4533	-	31%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 23-24, "Table 23.- Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, for Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1900, Virginia", p. 644, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p11.pdf.

WEST VIRGINIA

JEFFERSON COUNTY (CITIES AND TOWNS INCLUDED)

DECADE	CITY/TOWN	TOTAL POP.	WHITE POP.	FREE BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	ENSLAVED POP. (1860 ONLY)	BLACK POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL BLACK POP. (1860 ONLY)	% OF TOTAL BLACK POP. TO TOTAL POP.	% OF ENSLAVED POP. TO TOTAL POP. (1860 ONLY)	SOURCE(S)
1860[3]		14535	10064	511	3960	4471	89%	31%	27%	U.S. Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Virginia, "Table No. 2. -Population by Color and Condition", p.516, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-36.pdf.
1860	Bolivar	1130	1029	74	27	101	27%	9%	2%	Ibid, 518.
1860	Charlestown	1376	1009	127	240	367	65%	27%	17%	Ibid, 518.
1860	Harper's Ferry	1339	1212	39	88	127	69%	9%	7%	Ibid, 518.
1860	Shepherd-stown	1219	926	39	254	293	87%	24%	21%	Ibid, 518.
1870	-	13219	9731	-	-	3488	-	26%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population by Counties-1790-1870, Table II-State of West Virginia, p.71, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-11.pdf.
1870	Averill	2030	1467	-	-	563	-	28%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Vermont, Virginia, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of West Virginia", p.285, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-27.pdf.
1870	Smithfield (w/ in Averill)	361	267	-	-	94	-	26%	-	Ibid, 285.
1870	Bolivar	2892	2455	-	-	437	-	15%	-	Ibid, 285.
1870	Bolivar (City Only)	N/A	N/A	-	-	N/A	-	N/A	-	Ibid, 285.

[3] Jefferson County was located in Virginia until 1863 when it was annexed and became a county in West Virginia.

Decade	City/Town	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1870	Chapline	1867	1411	-	-	456	-	24%	-	Ibid, 285.
1870	Grant	4571	2957	-	-	1614	-	35%	-	Ibid, 285.
1870	Charlestown (w/in Grant)	1593	1056	-	-	537	-	34%	-	Ibid, 285.
1870	Harper's Ferry (w/in Grant)	N/A	N/A	-	-	N/A	-	N/A	-	Ibid, 285.
1870	Shepherd	1859	1441	-	-	418	-	22%	-	Ibid, 285.
1870	Shepherd-stown (w/in Shepherd)	1389	1041	-	-	348	-	25%	-	Ibid, 285.
1880	-	15005	10958	-	-	4045	-	27%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V.- Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1870, West Virginia", p. 413, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.
1890	-	15553	11437	-	-	4116	-	26%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables- Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9-19, "Table 15.-Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890", West Virginia, p. 435, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-12.pdf.
1900	-	15935	11994	-	-	3941	-	25%	-	U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9-22, "Table 19.-White, Negro and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880-1900, West Virginia", p. 563, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

APPENDIX B: FREEDPEOPLES' SCHOOLS IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA, 1865-1871

(DATA SELECTED FROM RECORDS OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU)

COMPILED BY CAROLINE SPENCER

VIRGINIA

ALEXANDRIA COUNTY

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Alexandria County	
Alexandria	23 schools listed[12345]
Alexandria, Pitt St.	10 schools listed[67]
Alexandria, Alfred St.	8 schools listed[89]
Sickle's Barracks (w/in Alexandria)	1 school listed[10]
Arlington	2 schools listed[1112]
Arlington Heights (w/in Arlington)	2 schools listed[13]
Fort Strong (w/in Arlington)	1 school listed[14]
Millington	1 school listed15

1 "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month ending Oct. 31, 1868", in United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, 1865-1872, Education Division, Roll 32, Virginia, monthly and other school reports, July 1865-Dec 1870, image 543. These are scans of original Freedmen's Bureau records from the National Archives, accessed through the Freedmen's Bureau digital collection on FamilySearch.org. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TH-KSH7-B?i=168&wc=313M-SP8%3A1556061802%2C1556061879&cc=2427894.

2 "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", in United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, 1865-1872, District of Columbia, Roll 13, Monthly teachers' reports, Oct 1865-Apr 1866, images 122-123. These are scans of original Freedmen's Bureau records from the National Archives, accessed through the Freedmen's Bureau digital collection on FamilySearch.org. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TH-N3LG-D?wc=31SB-VZ3%3A1556056502%2C1556061501&cc=2427894.

3 "Monthly Reports of Superintendents of Aid Society-Sponsored Schools, for the month ending January 1866", in United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education 1865-1872, District of Columbia, Roll 13, Monthly reports of aid society-sponsored schools, June 1865- Jan 1866, images 3-4. These are scans of original Freedmen's Bureau records from the National Archives, accessed through the Freedmen's Bureau digital collection on FamilySearch.org. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TH-N3VX-7?wc=31SB-VZ7%3A1556056502%2C1556123667&cc=2427894.

4 "Reports of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending February 1869", in United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Subassistant commissioner and the Superintendent of Alexandria, 1865-1869, Alexandria, Roll 50, Monthly school reports, Oct 1867-Feb 1869, image 5. These are scans of original Freedmen's Bureau records from the National Archives, accessed through the Freedmen's Bureau digital collection on FamilySearch.org. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-6QB9-9KR?wc=9LMP-L2Q%3A1078510502%2C1078511507&cc=1596147.

5 "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", images 77-78.

6 "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month ending Oct. 31, 1868", image 190.

7 "Reports of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending February 1869", image 6.

8 Ibid, image 9.

9 "Monthly Reports of Superintendents of Aid-Society Sponsored Schools, for the month ending January 1866, image 42.

10 "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", images 493-494.

11 "Monthly Reports of Superintendents of Aid-Society Sponsored Schools, for the month ending January 1866, image 108.

12 "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", images 440-441.

13 Ibid, images 32-33; 107-108.

14 Ibid, images 117-118.

15 "Report of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending March

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Not Yet Located	1 school listed16

FAIRFAX COUNTY

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Vienna	1 school listed[17]
Lincoln Village	1 school listed[18]
Painters	1 school listed[19]
2nd Magisterial Dist.	1 school listed[20]
Woodlawn	1 school listed[21]
Herndon	1 school listed[22]
Centreville	1 school listed[23]
Falls Church	3 schools listed[24]
Fairfax Court House	1 school listed[25]
Gum Spring	1 school listed[26]
Lewinsville	1 school listed[27]
McLean	1 school listed[28]
Great Falls	1 school listed[29]
Accotink	1 school listed[30]

1869", in United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Alexandria, 1865-1869, Alexandria, Roll 50, School Reports, Apr 1867-Mar 1869, images 653-654. These are scans of original Freedmen's Bureau records from the National Archives, accessed through the Freedmen's Bureau digital collection on FamilySearch.org. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-6QBL-1W?wc=9LMP-L29%3A1078510502%2C1078511901&cc=1596147.

16 "Reports of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending February 1869", image 31.

17 "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month ending Oct. 31, 1868", image 545.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 "Reports of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending February 1869", image 5.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid, image 15.

24 "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", image 238; "Monthly Reports of Superintendents of Aid-Society Sponsored Schools, for the month ending January 1866, images 3-4; "Report of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending March 1869, images 602-603.

25 "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", images 595-596.

26 "Reports of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending February 1869", image 5.

27 "Report of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending March 1869, images 3-4.

28 "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", images 236.

29 "Report of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending March 1869, image 50.

30 "Report of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending March 1869,

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Not Yet Located	1 school listed[31]

LOUDOUN COUNTY

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Leesburg	5 schools listed[32]
Lincoln	1 school listed[33]
Waterford	1 school listed[34]
Middleburg	1 school listed[35]
Lovetteville	1 school listed[36]
Hillsborough	2 schools listed[37]
Aldie	1 school listed[38]
Hamilton	1 school listed[39]
Not Yet located	2 schools listed[40]

PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Manassas	1 school listed[41]
Gainesville	1 school listed[42]
Independent Hill	1 school listed[43]
Not Yet Located	2 schools listed[44]

image 883.

31 "Report of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending March 1869, image 50.

32 "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month ending Oct. 31, 1868", image 548; "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", image 242; "Records of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending March 1869, images 165-166 and 222-223; "Reports of the Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending February 1869, image 10.

33 "Reports of the Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending February 1869, image 5.

34 "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month ending Oct. 31, 1868", image 548.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 "Report of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending March 1869, images 171-172; "Reports of the School of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending February 1869, image 10.

38 "Reports of the Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending February 1869, image 10.

39 "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month ending Oct. 31, 1868", image 407.

40 "Report of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending March 1869, images 147-148; "Reports of the School of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending February 1869, image 16.

41 "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month ending Oct. 31, 1868", image 549.

42 Ibid.

43 "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month ending Oct. 31, 1868", image 523.

44 "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month ending Oct. 31, 1868", image 288.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

WASHINGTON COUNTY

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Washington County	
Washington City	107 schools listed[45][46][47][48]
Georgetown	12 schools listed[49]
University Hill	1 school listed[50]
Judiciary Square	2 schools listed[51]
Good Hope	3 schools listed[52]
Capitol Hill	2 schools listed[53]
Tenleytown	1 school listed[54]
Anacostia	3 schools listed[55]

MARYLAND

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Bladensburg	1 school listed[56]

45 "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865-1872", in United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, 1865-1872, District of Columbia, Roll 21, Monthly teachers' report, Nov 1869-Jan 1870, images 10-535. These are scans of original Freedmen's Bureau records from the National Archives, accessed through the Freedmen's Bureau digital collection on FamilySearch.org. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TH-VSQP-T?wc=31S1-N38%3A1556056502%2C1556059801&cc=2427894.

46 "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", images 2-609.

47 "Monthly Reports of Superintendents of Aid-Society Sponsored Schools, for the month ending January 1866, images 22 and 185.

48 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870", images 185-186, 257-259, 261, 305, 344, 382.

49 "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865-1872", image 19-20; "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866, images 198-199, 203-204, 245, 379; "Monthly Reports of the Superintendents of Aid-Society Sponsored Schools, for the month ending January 1866, image 150; "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870, image 261.

50 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870", image 382.

51 "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", images 37-38.

52 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870", image 186; "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", images 112-113.

53 Ibid, image 185; Ibid, image 439.

54 "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866", image 369.

55 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870", images 186, 344.

56 "Teacher's Monthly School Reports", in United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Office of the Assistant Commissioner, Maryland and Delaware, Freedmen's Bureau Field Office Records, Roll 5, Maryland and Delaware, Teacher's monthly school reports, 1866, May-1869-April 1870, images 353-355. These are scans of original Freedmen's Bureau records from the National Archives, accessed through the Freedmen's Bureau digital collection on FamilySearch.org. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-L9MX-

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Oxen Run	1 school listed[57]
Woodville	1 school listed[58]
Upper Marlboro	1 school listed[59]
Nottingham	2 schools listed[60]
Robeytown	1 school listed[61]
Piscataway	3 schools listed[62]
Forestville	1 school listed[63]
Broad Creek	1 school listed[64]
Muirkirk	1 school listed[65]
Saint Thomas	1 school listed[66]
Forest Grove	1 school listed[67]
Horse Head	1 school listed[68]
Not Yet located	3 schools listed[69]

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Olney	1 school listed[70]
Pleasant Grove	1 school listed[71]
Sandy Spring	1 school listed[72]
Brighton	1 school listed[73]

R4GW?wc=9C3M-RM9%3A266115501%2C266125901&cc=1989156.

57 "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865-1872", images 336-337.

58 "Teacher's Monthly School Reports", images 341-343.

59 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870", image 47.

60 "Teacher's Monthly School Reports", images 506-508; "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870, image 46.

61 "Teacher's Monthly School Reports", images 347-349.

62 Ibid, images 344-346; "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865-1872", images 223-224, 549-550.

63 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870", image 261.

64 Ibid, 187.

65 "Teacher's Monthly School Reports", images 335-337.

66 Ibid, 338-340.

67 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending June 1872", in United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, 1865-1872, District of Columbia, Roll 23, Monthly teachers' reports, May 1870-June 1872, images 583-584. These are scans of original Freedmen's Bureau records from the National Archives, accessed through the Freedmen's Bureau digital collection on FamilySearch.org. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TH-LSNX-6?wc=3139-GPD%3A1556056502%2C1556060101&cc=2427894.

68 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870", image 187.

69 "Teacher's Monthly School Reports", images 350-352; "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865-1872", images 110-111; "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870", image 187.

70 "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865-1872", images 954-955.

71 Ibid, images 144-145.

72 "Teacher's Monthly School Reports", images 365-367.

73 Ibid, images 266-268.

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Norbeck	1 school listed[74]
Poolesville	1 school listed[75]
Barnesville	1 school listed[76]
Oak Hill	1 school listed[77]
Damascus	1 school listed[78]
Brookville	1 school listed[79]
Dawsonville	1 school listed[80]
Blue Marsh	1 school listed[81]
Darnestown	1 school listed[82]
Rockville	1 school listed[83]

FREDERICK COUNTY

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Emmittsburgh	2 schools listed[84]
Frederick City	2 schools listed[85]
Petersville	1 school listed[86]
Mt. Pleasant	1 school listed[87]
New Market	1 school listed[88]
Burkittsville	1 school listed[89]
Middletown	1 school listed[90]
Lewistown	1 school listed[91]

74 Ibid, images 374-376.
75 Ibid, images 359-361.
76 Ibid, images 48-50.
77 Ibid, images 377-379.
78 Ibid, images 356-358.
79 Ibid, images 371-373.
80 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending June 1872", images 690-691.
81 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870", image 46.
82 Ibid, image 187.
83 Ibid.
84 "Teacher's Monthly School Reports", images 518-520; "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865-1872", images 386-387.
85 Ibid, images 123-125; Ibid, images 368-369.
86 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending July 1870", image 191.
87 Ibid, image 191.
88 "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865-1872", images 377-378.
89 Ibid, images 371-372.
90 Ibid, images 380-381.
91 "United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, 1865-1872", database with images, FamilySearch (https://familyseatch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TH-K9IK-D?cc=2427894&wc=31S1-168%3A1556061802%2C1556066101. 1 August 2016), Education Division, Roll 34, Schedules of schools and rental accounts, Alabama, Arkansas, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and North Carolina, Oct 1868-Dec 1870, images 168-171 of 569; Citing multiple NARA microfilm publications (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1969-1078).

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Point of Rocks	1 school listed[92]
Liberty	1 school listed[93]
Hope Hill	1 school listed[94]

WASHINGTON COUNTY

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Hagerstown	2 schools listed[95]
Clear Spring	1 school listed[96]
Hancock	2 schools listed[97]
Williamsport	1 school listed[98]
Newtown	1 school listed[99]
Pleasant Valley	1 school listed[100]
Sandy Hook	1 school listed[101]

WEST VIRGINIA

JEFFERSON COUNTY

AREA	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Harpers Ferry	2 schools listed[102][103]
Charlestown	1 school listed[104]
Shepherdstown	1 school listed[105]

92 "Teacher's Monthly School Reports", images 111-113.
93 Ibid, images 323-325.
94 Ibid, images 545-547.
95 Ibid, images 515-517; images 135-137.
96 Ibid, images 132-134.
97 Ibid, images 102-105; "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending June 1872", images 544-545.
98 "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865-1872", images 401-402.
99 Ibid, images 410-411.
100 Ibid, images 331.
101 Ibid, images 191.
102 "Teacher's Monthly School Reports", images 440-442.
103 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending February 1870", in United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, 1865-1872, Education Division, Roll 17, District of Columbia, including Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia, monthly reports, July 1868-Feb 1870, image 75. These are scans of original Freedmen's Bureau records from the National Archives, accessed through the Freedmen's Bureau digital collection on FamilySearch.org. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9TH-N9NQ-X?wc=31SB-PTG%3A1556061802%2C1556256425&cc=2427894.
104 "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending February 1870", image 75.
105 Ibid, image 84.

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

National Capital Region
1100 Ohio Drive, SW
Washington, DC 20242